



1989 Festival of American Folklife

Smithsonian Institution/National Park Service



Thierry Bertrand, maker of a *veuze*, a now rare French bagpipe, in his workshop in La Garnache, a village in the Vendée region of France. (Photo by Winifred Lambrecht)

On the front cover: Vallisa Vinhasa Tavares represents the island of Kaua'i in the Merrie Monarch parade in Hilo, Hawai'i. (Photo by Lynn Martin, courtesy State Foundation on Culture and the Arts Folk Arts Program)

On the back cover: Una Griffiths and Cacilda Wright, traditional cooks from Santa Cruz, Jamaica, squeeze juice from grated cassava. (Photo by Heliana Portes de Roux)

1989 Festival of American Folklife

June 23-27
June 30-July 4

Smithsonian Institution
National Park Service

*We dedicate this year's program book to the memory of Joseph Coudon (1943-1988).
Joe was a special assistant to the Secretary and a friend of the Festival for many years.
Joe taught us a lot about leadership, integrity and honesty. As we face both
successes and crises, we will painfully miss him.*

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Celebrating Freedom

Robert McC. Adams
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

The Festival, like all Smithsonian museums, is free. No tickets or turnstiles to ingather patrons and exclude the rest. The Festival has always been free—by the original vision of the event's founders—because the Festival is the Smithsonian's forum of living cultural ideas. The Festival is a celebration of traditional beauty, knowledge and wisdom. Participation in its potential for growth, delight and understanding will always be the free privilege of the citizens of the nation and the world.

It seems especially appropriate to recall the value of open public access to our national cultural dialogue this year, as we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (currently on display in the Smithsonian's Arts and Industries Building). Marking a period of unbounded potential, the events of 1789 were a starburst of public energy that, no matter how later aggrandized, had a profound effect on our young American republic and changed forever the light in which we view our public institutions. Indeed, our own Bill of Rights was signed within thirty days of the French Declaration. It is in commemoration of our common covenants of human rights and in recognition of our common French heritage that we celebrate the Bicentennial with Francophone musi-

cians and craftspeople from France, Quebec, New England, Louisiana, Missouri and North Dakota.

The history of freedom in the United States has involved a continuing tension between the rights and responsibilities of individuals and corporate groups and a continuing struggle between colonizers and colonized, between the settled and the newly arrived. This dynamic is evident in the history of Hawai'i as Polynesian islands, former kingdom and fiftieth state. Hawai'i provides an Eden-like environment that has drawn ancient mariners and modern immigrants to form a multiethnic, multicultural society. The Hawai'i program includes the descendents of immigrants, mainly from the Pacific rim (but also from the Atlantic), who came to the islands to work on plantations, enduring servitude and hardship in hope of a better life. Their story is one of immigration and the search for freedom, offering lessons that Americans need become aware of as the Pacific captures our national attention.

But Hawai'i is unique in our nation in that its indigenous culture suffuses its society as a whole, giving nuance to the forms of immigrant cultures that came there. This thirtieth anniversary of Hawai'i's statehood invites us to reflect upon human cultural freedom—equity for and conservation of



traditional cultures. For, we celebrate as well the vitality and open spirit of an indigenous Hawaiian culture that has endured political, ideological and commercial attempts to restrict its practice and growth.

The continuity of culture depends upon access to various natural, social and cultural resources. We bridle at unfair restrictions of such access that limit our freedom to realize our visions of who we are. The American Indian program this year examines such restrictions and their impact upon contemporary tribal life. What happens when tribal rituals depend on endangered species, or traditional means of subsistence are threatened by land and water pollution? The program also illustrates attempts by various tribes to gain freedom over their cultural future through the innovative management of traditional resources.

Freedom also involves the flow of ideas, of knowledge, of scientific information

beyond the bounds of group, tribe or nation. The Caribbean program illustrates the historical flow of cultural and aesthetic ideas between diverse Native, European, and African populations in several island societies. Despite extreme social stratification of masters and slaves and attendant racism in the Caribbean, the ideas of the French Revolution had their effect there also, inspiring the independence movement in Haiti, which in 1801 became the first free African American republic. While both African and European cultural forms persist, Caribbean populations are characterized by the creative creolization of music, food, language and art. Indeed, this encounter of diverse peoples defined the New World that developed in the wake of the Columbian voyages, whose 500th anniversary we prepare to commemorate in 1992. Today, despite political antagonisms, citizens of our nation and the world must be free to converse with one another. Scientists and scholars must talk with each other if knowledge is to be served. Musicians, artists, writers and others must hear, see and read each other if their art is to live. We are therefore happy to host contingents of musicians from Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica and Puerto Rico so that Americans may be free to hear their musics and the complex historical tale they tell about the making of the New World.

Our Shared Cultural Resources

James M. Ridenour
Director, National Park Service

The National Park Service serves the nation as more than just the custodian of America's national parks and historic sites. We have always had a broader mission: to serve as steward of the natural, cultural and historical resources that are our common legacy as citizens of America and of the world. This mission is one that parallels the Smithsonian Institution's obligation to maintain its great national collections, holding them in trust for the people of the United States. It is thus both natural and fitting that we serve together as co-sponsors of the Festival of American Folklife.

There are striking parallels between the responsibilities of museum curator and park superintendent, folklife researcher and historical interpreter. For all of us, stewardship is not simply a matter of standing quietly by and hoping that nothing damages or destroys our precious national legacy. If that were so our jobs would be much easier — we would be experts at maintenance and

repair, but would not concern ourselves with preventing problems or with revitalizing cultural or natural resources. Nor is stewardship simply a matter of locking away our national treasures, protecting them in pristine condition and prohibiting their use or enjoyment. That too would be far easier than our real responsibilities: to balance present needs and future hopes, to preserve our heritage while nurturing its perpetuation, to reach some harmony between the often conflicting demands imposed by nature and humanity.

As new parks have come into being during the past 15 years, Congress and the administrations of four presidents have explicitly recognized our responsibilities to engage in cultural conservation efforts; established parks are increasingly involved in assisting in the conservation of local cultures and groups. We recognize that history is not only battlefields and old mansions, but also the stories they signal.



We recognize that historic sites offer a wide range of stories to be told: a settler's cabin in Yellowstone or a textile workers' tenement in Lowell is as important a part of America's heritage as a Newport mansion or the childhood home of a president. And we recognize that culture is a process rather than a relic, that it is a complex phenomenon that thrives in a particular environment, and that the people living in that environment often have vital knowledge of the local resources and how they can best be managed.

This year's Folklife Festival offers continued evidence of the shared concerns of the National Park Service and the Smithsonian Institution. The Yaqui deer dance here reminds us of Yaqui participation in the exciting Fiesta held annually for 19 years at Tumacacori National Monument in Arizona. The French American musicians you enjoy here have also performed frequently in national parks such as the Jean Lafitte National Historical Park in Louisiana, Lowell National Historical Park in Massachusetts, and the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial park in Missouri. The Hawaiian program lets Washington visitors experience some of the traditional culture they might encounter in Hawaii's Volcanoes National Park or Pu'u'honua o Honaunau National Historical Park, the City of Refuge National Historical Park. We hope you will enjoy meeting the musicians and craftspeople in Washington, and that you will have the opportunity to see them again closer to home.

Why We Do the Festival

Richard Kurin

At last year's Festival of American Folklife, Gladys Widdiss, a Wampanoag Indian from Gay Head on Martha's Vineyard, sat in a rocking chair under a white tent on the National Mall of the United States. She picked up the microphone to speak to some of the more than 1.5 million people who visit the Festival. Gladys spoke of her pottery, made from the clay of the Gay Head cliffs, and of her efforts to teach young people about the traditional Wampanoag respect for the earth and its natural environment. She spoke of her own life, and with her voice cracking from the emotion of the moment, Gladys said, "I'm a Wampanoag Indian grandmother. And that's what I want to be. I don't ever want to feel ashamed of what I know and who I am. And I want to tell my grandchildren that."

Two years ago, my daughter Danielle made a calendar for her pre-school art project. For each month she drew an accompanying illustration: Valentine hearts for February, turkeys for November. For July, she drew a picture illustrating fireworks for the Fourth, along with three large human-like statues in flames. Danielle couldn't explain that her picture evoked the 1985 Festival, when as part of the India program we burned 40 ft. high paper and bamboo statues of the evil king Ravana and his cohorts on the Mall. Instead she recalls that "the fireworks scare away bad things."

In 1987, Alexandre Nikolai Demchenko, deputy director of cultural education at the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Culture, was negotiating the terms under which Soviet folk artists and musicians would come to the Festival in

1988. "So," he said, "you do not want our best dance academy students to come to your Festival to perform peasant dances. You want the peasants themselves, the real people who do these dances."

In 1976 Ethel Mohamed from Belzoni, Mississippi made a tapestry illustrating the diversity of American and world cultures brought to the Bicentennial Festival. The colorful, memory style tapestry illustrates folk dancing, cooking demonstrations, musical performance and children's games on the Mall. According to Ethel, the tapestry is like the Festival—a celebration of all of us joined together.

Gladys, Danielle, Demchenko and Ethel are each right. We do the Festival to encourage grandmothers to teach their granddaughters, to scare away public evil, to understand living traditions and to celebrate our common, though multicultural, humanity.

This Year at the Festival

This year, we hope that our programs on Hawai'i, French and French American culture, Caribbean musics, and American Indian cultural conservation issues will have an effect back home by encouraging the preservation and transmission of traditional cultural repertoires. The knowledge and aesthetics of Hawaiian culture; the speaking of French; the joining of African, European and Native American traditions; and the cultural practices of American Indian tribes represent not only continuity with the past, but the ability to enact the future with a variety of proven approaches and sensibilities.

The Hawai'i program teaches us about a unique multicultural state, where a long-lived



Ethel Mohamed, a traditional needleworker from Belzoni, Mississippi, embroidered a tapestry for the summer-long bi-centennial Festival in 1976 depicting the range of activities at the Festival.

native culture has vitalized not only Hawaiians, but also generations of immigrants from China, Japan, Portugal, the Philippines, Samoa and other nations. The contemporary panoply of Hawaiian cultures signals to us the influence of the peoples and cultures of the Pacific rim upon our national consciousness, in the past and increasingly now and in the future. The French and French American Bicentennial program demonstrates to us how closely bound are France and North America, both in our shared covenants of freedom and in our Franco-phone populations ever seeking to preserve their cultural heritage.

The Caribbean program initiates a series of living exhibitions on the Columbus Quincentenary. As we approach 1992, we seek to commemorate and understand the encounters of populations—American Indians, Europeans, Africans and Asians—brought together in the New World. The Caribbean



At the 1988 Festival's Soviet music program, the southern Russian ensemble from Podserednee, Belgorod Province, sings in the rural tradition. The program has paved the way for a series of cultural exchanges between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. (Photo by Rick Vargas)



Hundreds of Low Country families depend on coiled basketmaking for a substantial part of their household economy. The tradition, originating in Africa, is now threatened by beachfront real estate developers. Attention from folklorists over the last 30 years helps to support the basketmakers' efforts to preserve access to needed raw materials. (Photo of Queen Ellis by John Vlach)

exemplifies this encounter and provides an illustration of the creation of New World musics, foodways, languages and rituals. The American Indian program teaches us that tribal cultures continue to offer vision, beauty and a sense of community to their bearers. But the continuity of those cultures depends upon access to natural resources, markets, legal systems and public recognition. When access is denied, cultures may be endangered: they may lose their way and die.

While these programs at the Festival seem to us both logical and valuable, for some the Festival itself and the efforts of its organizers are innocuous diversions and possibly even deceitful. Consider Allan Bloom's views in the best-selling *The Closing of the American Mind*,

The 'ethnic' differences we see in the United States are but decaying reminiscences of old differences that caused our ancestors to kill one another. The animating principle, their soul, has disappeared from them. The ethnic festivals are just

superficial displays of clothes, dances and foods from the old country. One has to be quite ignorant of the splendid 'cultural' past to be impressed or charmed by these insipid folkloric manifestations...And the blessing given the whole notion of cultural diversity in the United States by the culture movement has contributed to the intensification and legitimization of group politics, along with a corresponding decay of belief that the individual rights enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, are anything more than dated rhetoric. (Bloom 1987:192-3)

Accordingly, if Bloom is correct, it would make little sense to do the Festival: folklife should be relegated to a "traditional" museum of dead cultures, and the Smithsonian should reject representations of cultural diversity. How then to explain the Festival of American Folklife as part of the Smithsonian Institution, a "living museum" among the National Museums of the United States? And how then to explain the Festival's role as an advocate for human cultural rights, for cultural equity, for cultural diversity in the context of the Smithsonian—a national institution founded with democratic, enlightenment ideals for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

Museuming: A Conceptual Background to the Festival

To understand the Festival, we must first understand the museum context within which it is set and against which it is simultaneously juxtaposed. The rapid and extensive growth of museums in the 19th century was largely motivated by the desire to collect things—natural species and cultural artifacts—before they were no longer available. Curators, scholars and collectors wanted to make sure we had an accurate (or at least comprehensible) record of the life forms, cultural achievements, and historical events that had graced our planet. Bones, stones, baskets, costumes, diaries and mementos were regarded as the closest things to a living memory of our natural and cultural heritage.

The approach of museums to the preser-

vation of culture is instructive. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, many of the world's cultures were disappearing or being changed beyond recognition. The Industrial Revolution, urbanization, colonialism and a growing globalism in commerce and communication changed societies the world over. The native cultures of the Americas, Asia, Africa and Oceania were being destroyed. Languages that took centuries to form no longer had enough people to speak them: some 400 American Indian languages, for example, were lost by the 20th century. Art forms developed over generations could no longer be practiced for lack of materials, knowledge, or occasions for use. Forms of subsistence, of eating, of building homes were discouraged or became economically impossible to realize. Social organizations—clans, tribes, castes, chiefdoms, kingdoms and other institutions—were superceded by newer forms, often imposed by conquering forces. Ritual practices, beliefs, and specialized systems of knowledge were largely swept aside, belittled, or rendered irrelevant. In short, cultures—deprived of their own materials, knowledge and purposes—were actively being destroyed, or were dying of disuse.

The destruction of cultures did not bother some, who saw in that process the weeding out of more “primitive,” less adaptable or less advanced ways of living. For some of these “social evolutionists,” the progress of mankind as a species depended upon eliminating beliefs and practices seen to be irrational and uneconomical. Museums cast in this evolutionary mode typically arranged artifacts in order, say from the most primitive form of spear to the most complex, from the simplest form of pottery to the most sophisticated. At the endpoint or pinnacle of this cultural evolution was the Victorian Englishman or European, representing the epitome of civilization. Other peoples and their cultures, both contemporary and historical, were seen as remnants of previous stages of cultural development, representing more savage and barbarous lifeways.

Anthropologists, folklorists, and historians such as John Wesley Powell at the Smithsonian, Franz Boas at the American Museum

of Natural History, and William Wells Newell lamented this rapid and extensive loss of cultures. They played key roles in the formation of the American Folklore Society (1888-89), the Bureau of American Ethnology (1880), the American Anthropological Association (1898) and other organizations that had as their purpose the study and documentation of those cultures before they disappeared entirely. Much of this work fell to museums that mounted expeditions and collection efforts so that future generations might be able to understand and appreciate what had been.

Boas and his student-colleagues—Alfred Kroeber, Elsie Clews Parsons, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Margaret Mead, Zora Neale Hurston and others—knew what was lost when a culture died. Every culture represents ways of living, ways of seeing the world, and time-proven ways of navigating in it. Every culture defines the world and characteristic ways of representing it: cognitively, through the knowledge, skills and wisdom it inculcates in its bearers; normatively, through laws and expectations of how to behave; and aesthetically, through the music, song, verbal arts and material forms it promotes and values. Every culture provides a code for being human, and for being human in a distinctive way. Unlike genetic codes, cultural codes are learned. And individuals are capable of learning and enacting several different codes. When a culture dies, distinct ways of knowing, of doing, of understanding and of expressing die. When the society bearing the culture dies, we lose the means by which the culture is enacted and practiced. And while genetic descendants may remain, they live on deprived of their own culture, often marginally associated with a new, most likely imposed one. In short, the death of a culture represents a diminution in the human cultural repertoire. A pattern that may have taken thousands or hundreds of years to form is lost: there is no one to teach it, to transmit its vision of the world, the knowledge and wisdom reposed therein, the skills of the generations of people who labored in its bounds. This loss extends beyond the present, for we never know how valuable

would have been the contribution of that culture to a larger human future.

Museums could serve to hasten the death of cultures. The quicker cultures die, the more rapidly museums could collect their remains. And if museums actually promoted and participated in the death of cultures, collecting practices could be rationalized to a great degree. Indeed, something like this occurred under the Nazis during their occupation of Czechoslovakia, resulting in the Central Jewish Museum of Prague (in a story so well told in the 1983 Smithsonian exhibit, "The Precious Legacy").

What should museums do, particularly those of national and international scope, in relation to the death and destruction of cultures? One hundred years ago, Powell wrote to the then Secretary of the Smithsonian Spencer Baird,

Rapidly the Indians are being gathered on reservations where their original habits and customs disappear, their languages are being modified or lost...I would respectfully request that you forward to Congress this statement with an estimate for fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of continuing the ethnologic researches among the North American Indians under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution. (BAE file #677, National Anthropological Archives)

And just 20 years ago at the Smithsonian the Center for the Study of Urgent Phenomena was created to study rapidly disappearing cultural expressions as well as natural occurrences of limited duration.

The Festival and the Museum

When we consider the contemporary world, two facts seem apparent. First, cultures are still being destroyed or falling into disuse, both in the United States and throughout the world. This is occurring in major cities, as third generation yuppies reject even the vestiges of the cultures of their immigrant grandparents. But it is also occurring through acts of genocide, wholesale prejudice and discrimination, and the destruction of ecosystems that support native

peoples in the Americas, Africa, Asia and Australia. Second, despite all the pronouncements of cultural disappearance or mere vestigial survival, as Bloom suggests, a broad array of human cultures seem to be doing quite well and even flourishing. People continue to learn their own native languages; grow in extended, joint and other forms of family; recognize a variety of social, religious and occupational groups; and construe their morals and world views in ways different from post-modern secular academic Americans. The world, it seems, can admit to many cultural ways. And as anthropologists have pointed out, people can and do live multicultural lives. Indeed, it has been argued that some of the very forms that hastened the destruction of cultures years ago (for example, government policies and new technologies) now aid them. Maintenance of the Navajo language may be enabled through its radio broadcast; widely available tape recorders make it possible for Indians in the Amazon Basin to record and preserve their songs. The U.N. Charter for Human Rights, various international accords, and other covenants encourage and enjoin governments to recognize rights to practice one's culture, speak one's language and worship freely.

The Festival of American Folklife, from its inception, has been conceived as part of a cultural conservation strategy for the National Museum. Underlying that strategy is the belief in cultural equity, cultural relativity and cultural pluralism—the belief that all cultures have something to say and a right to be heard, that questions of cultural superiority are moot, and that a world, nation and community with many cultures are enriched by that diversity. As Alan Lomax, co-founder of the Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress, folklorist, National Medal of the Arts holder and longtime advisor to the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife has stated,

Practical men often regard these expressive systems as doomed and valueless. Yet, wherever the principle of cultural equity comes into play, these creative wellsprings begin to flow again...Even in



A shared language and traditions of social interaction make the deaf community an identifiable cultural group. This was presented at the 1981 Festival program, "To Hear a Hand: Folklore and Folklife of the Deaf." (Photo by Jeff Tinsley)



Donations of food are given to Buddhist monks by the local Laotian community during the Lao Rocket Festival, an event held at the 1987 Festival program, "Cultural Conservation and Language: America's Many Voices." (Photo by Jeff Tinsley)



The occupational folklife of horsemen was featured as part of the Oklahoma state program in 1982 through presentations of horse breeding, training and racing.



The Children's Program at the 1982 Festival gave younger visitors an opportunity to participate in performance, craft, ritual, occupational and dance traditions. (Photo by Richard Hofmeister)



Indian performers and puppeteers from Shadipur, a squatter encampment outside of Delhi, participated in the 1985 Smithsonian programs, "Mela! An Indian Fair" at the Festival of American Folklife, and the three-month long museum exhibition, "Aditi: A Celebration of Life." These programs aided their struggle to gain rights to land to build homes. (Photo by Daphne Shuttleworth)

this industrial age, folk traditions can come vigorously back to life, can raise community morale, and give birth to new forms if they have the time and room to grow in their own communities. The work in this field must be done with tender and loving concern for both the folk artists and their heritages. This concern must be knowledgeable, both about the fit of each genre to its local context and about its roots in one or more of the great stylistic traditions of humankind. We have an overarching goal—the world of manifold civilizations animated by the vision of cultural equity. (Lomax 1977)

As a strategy, cultural conservation suggests that museums conserve cultures while they live rather than waiting to collect their remnants after they die. The role of a museum can be to help empower people to practice their culture, realize their aesthetic excellences, use their knowledge, transmit their wisdom, and make their culture a vital means for dealing with contemporary circumstances.

In 1967, Ralph Rinzler and others, under then-Secretary S. Dillon Ripley, developed the Festival as a means by which the Smithsonian could help conserve culture by representing it in a national forum. The Festival was part of a compact the National Museum has with the nation, the Smithsonian has with humankind—to provide a stage from which all those peoples and cultures that have contributed to our collective cultural history could speak and be heard. The Festival would be a place where they could tell their story in their own words, in their own terms. At the Festival they could demonstrate how they built or created instruments, baskets, machines and artifacts—equivalent to the national treasures reposing in the museums. The Festival would bring to the attention of the nation exemplary practitioners of traditions, people who continually create, recreate, invent and in so doing conserve their culture. These people would illustrate alternative ways to live in the present, not just remind us of the past. And by doing this, the Festival would enrich the lives of an American and international public.



Gladys-Marie Fry (l), a presenter with the 1986 Cultural Conservation program, "Traditional Crafts in a Post-Industrial Age," holds a workshop with Alabama quilters Eloise Dickerson and Mamie McKinstry. (Photo by Dale Hrabak)

Over the past 23 years, the Festival of American Folklife has presented more than 15,000 bearers of traditional culture—musicians, craftspeople, storytellers, cooks, workers, performers and other cultural specialists—from every region of the United States, from scores of ethnic groups, from more than 100 American Indian and Alaskan Native groups, from more than 60 occupational groups and from more than 45 nations of the world.

Why We Do the Festival

We do the Festival so that people can be heard. The Festival gives voice to people and cultures not otherwise likely to be heard in a national setting. The Festival emphasizes folk, tribal, ethnic and regional traditional culture, non-elite and non-commercial forms created in communities throughout the U.S. and abroad. It is the culture of people trained by word of mouth or apprenticeship, doing what they do largely for members of their own family or church, village or social group. The Festival has also been instrumental in representing the cul-

tures of particular groups who often do not appear in the nation's cultural consciousness. The Festival has been a leader in illustrating the occupational cultures of working people—taxicab drivers, waiters, firefighters, railway workers—and the cultures of deaf people, of children and of new immigrant groups.

By letting cultures speak from the "bully pulpit" of the National Mall, the Festival also allows us to help legitimate alternative forms of aesthetics and culture. Musical performances, crafts and foodways demonstrations, and other programmatic activities meet Smithsonian standards of authenticity, cultural significance, excellence. Their placement in a National Museum setting conveys their value to artists, to home communities, to general audiences and to specialists. The Festival's role in legitimating Cajun and Creole music, Afro-American coil basketry, Italian-American stone carving and other traditional arts provides a needed counterweight to other forms of delegitimation.

The Festival encourages dialogue, not didacticism. It directly reaches more than

one million people each year and thus contributes to the broad educative function of the National Museums. At the Festival, visitors may gain in-depth knowledge of historical processes or thematic issues, or become a bit more familiar with another culture or tradition. The Festival provides a neutral ground for approaching people different from oneself. And at the Festival, intimacy is possible. Visitors can participate: learn a Portuguese song or a Greek dance, ask a Japanese scholar a question, or converse with a river boat guide from Michigan. The Festival provides for encounters that might otherwise not take place, as for example with the extraordinary Soviet music program last year.

We do the Festival so that practitioners may be encouraged to pass on their skills and knowledge. Much of popular mass culture suggests to traditional practitioners that they are anachronisms, practicing forms of art that have lost their vitality and beauty. The Festival is a way of saying to such artists, "What you do is valuable, so valuable that the Smithsonian Institution would like you to show it to the nation." This recognition—of particular crafts, musical styles, verbal art, folk medical knowledge, occupational lore—provides encouragement to the practitioner and is sometimes a source of strength back home. Some artists gain an understanding or appreciation of their own cultural contribution and may promote and

U.S. Legislation to Conserve Culture

The American Folklife Preservation Act was signed into law by President Ford in 1976. It established the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, and defined a national commitment to the preservation of American folklife.

Excerpts from the Act:

The Congress hereby finds and declares—
that the diversity inherent in American folklife has contributed greatly to the cultural richness of the Nation and has fostered a sense of individuality and identity among the American people;
that the history of the United States effectively demonstrates that building a strong nation does not require the sacrifice of cultural differences;
that it is in the interest of the general welfare of the Nation to preserve, support, revitalize, and disseminate American folklife traditions and arts.

The International Indigenous Peoples Protection Act, H.R. 879 is a bill introduced during the current session of Congress to help prevent the further destruction and elimination of cultures and societies around the world.

Excerpts from the bill:

The Congress makes the following findings—
The situation of indigenous and tribal peoples in developing countries is deteriorating worldwide.
Many of these populations face severe dis-

crimination, denial of human rights, loss of cultural and religious freedoms, or in the worst cases, cultural or physical destruction. If current trends in many parts of the world continue the cultural, social, and linguistic diversity of humankind will be radically and irrevocably diminished.

In addition, immense, undocumented repositories of ecological, biological, and pharmacological knowledge will be lost, as well as an immeasurable wealth of cultural, social, religious, and artistic expression, which together constitute part of the collective patrimony of the human species.

In many cases, unsound development policy that results in destruction of natural resources seriously jeopardizes indigenous and tribal peoples' physical survival and their cultural autonomy, frequently also undermining the possibility for long-term sustainable economic development.

The loss of the cultural diversity for indigenous and tribal peoples is not an inevitable or natural process.

In light of United States concern and respect for human rights and basic human freedoms, including rights to express cultural and religious preferences, as well as the United States desire for sustainable economic development, it is incumbent on the United States to take a leadership role in addressing indigenous and tribal peoples' rights to physical and cultural survival.



In 1986 a Japanese rice paddy was recreated to provide a new context for a rice planting ritual, performed by the Hanadaue group from Mibu village in Hiroshima Prefecture, Japan. (Photo by Jeff Tinsley)

transmit the tradition with greater resolve as a result of Festival participation. Over the years, the Festival has played this role in the revitalization of Cajun culture in Louisiana, among various American Indian tribes, among Afro-American communities, and in other countries such as India where it contributed to the effort of street performers and itinerants to gain rights to practice their arts and to gain title to their land.

The Festival has also historically helped people represent their own culture. While academic and lay scholars, signs and written materials help frame the presentation, there are no scripts for Festival participants. Festival participants develop their own means of self-presentation and interpretation as they interact with Festival staff, experts and the public. This experience often helps back home, and in other exhibition contexts, as some participants become spokespeople for their cultures. In some cases culture bearers have sought professional training and advanced educational opportunities, partly as

a result of their Festival experience. They have used this training, combined with their own knowledge, to teach about their cultures in universities and to develop and run programs and exhibits at museums, including the Smithsonian.

The Festival contributes to the development of scholarship and museology. Each Festival program is based on a considerable amount of research. This research is usually multidisciplinary, involving folklore, ethnomusicology, cultural anthropology, history, cultural geography, various ethnosciences, and area and ethnic studies. In its methodology, our research veers away from the monographic, tending toward group efforts involving academic, museum and community scholars. For example, the Hawai'i program this year involved 32 different researchers and analysts, most from Hawaiian academic institutions and community groups, some from the Smithsonian, most with Ph.D.s, many with years of intimate experience as part of the community researched. Analytic



Dewey Balfa (l), Cajun fiddler from Basile, Louisiana, received his National Heritage Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Arts at a Festival program in 1982. At the Festival the Fellows were joined by craftspeople and musicians, such as Cajun fiddler Michael Doucet, who were influenced by them. (Photo by Kim Nielsen)

efforts focused on particular traditions are balanced by synthetic attempts to understand and present larger wholes. A considerable amount of field work and archival research is accomplished in the course of Festival program development. Research documentation is archived, both at the Smithsonian and in the home country or state, for use by future scholars. Through the course of Festival research, linkages are opened for scholars, community people, and institutions that have resulted in other products beyond the Festival. These include books, dissertations, radio programs, and documentary films such as "The Stone Carvers" which, linked to a 1979 Festival program, won an Academy Award for best documentary in 1984. At a curatorial level, just as the writing of an ethnography can sharpen the understanding of a culture, so too does curating a Festival program aid the process of synthesizing knowledge. Festival programs, such as those on the African dias-

pora, help generate new and important scholarly understandings of cultural relationships.

The Festival reminds museum professionals that living culture is a national treasure. All of the artifacts in the art, history and technology museums—from projectile points to space craft—were made by human beings. Sometimes we fetishize the object, overvaluing it to the detriment of its maker. The Festival helps us to celebrate the makers of our national treasures. The Festival also makes clear that unlike objects, people—the makers—have ideas, recognize complexities, feel ambivalent and talk back. Many of the people who make our national treasures would feel uncomfortable visiting a museum. This is a sad commentary on what museums have become. At the Festival we have the opportunity to fill in the gaps, to ask—not speculate—about how and why something was made or a song was sung or a ritual enacted in a certain way. The Festival offers museums the opportunity to illustrate culture history with the sentient participating creators of that history.

The Festival contributes to the development of methods for the representation of culture. Folklorists, art historians, semioticians, exhibition designers and others are continually involved with exploring the variegated means by which cultures may be represented in museum contexts. Mannequins and objects in glass cases provide one of the older means of museum exhibitry, now enhanced by interactive computer terminals and screens, talking robots and multimedia presentations. The Festival has long served as a model for museum-based living cultural exhibitions and as a laboratory for experimenting with new presentational formats and theories of presentation. This has ranged from the elaborate re-creation of physical contexts—Oklahoma horse ranch and race course, Indian fair grounds with bazaar, Japanese rice paddy—to forms of framing performance and creating structures of appropriation.

The Festival encourages other forms of cultural research, presentation and conservation. The Festival provided the setting for public hearings on what was later enacted as

the Folklife Preservation Act of 1976, and helped in the formation of the Library of Congress American Folklife Center and the National Endowment of the Arts Folk Arts Program and its Heritage Awards. State programs at the Festival, most recently Michigan and Massachusetts, have served as the impetus for state folklife festivals on the same research-based model. The Festival has also provided a model internationally, provoking examination from Canada, Australia, the Soviet Union, India, Pakistan and Japan, among many others. A generation of academic and public sector folklorists and some 600 U.S. and international scholars have worked in various capacities on the Festival—as researchers, presenters, authors, consultants. The Festival continues to offer a context for dissertation research, internships, teacher workshops and, beginning this year, a summer folklore institute bringing together academic and community scholars.

The Festival symbolizes aspects of our own nation and sense of community. It is through the Festival that a community of scholars, workers, community people, volunteers and artists is created. The Festival is actually built and technically served by theater people, musicians, teachers, architects, government bureaucrats and other amateurs, some of whom take time off every year to work on the Festival. The temporary Festival staff and the hundreds of local area volunteers include a diversity of old and young, female and male from a variety of cultural and ethnic groups. People support the Festival and work on it as a labor of love and pride. This commitment to helping the nation represent itself is illustrated by volunteers returning year after year for five, ten, even fifteen years. It is also illustrated in the incorporation of populations previously outside the orbit of the national museums. For example, in 1985 some 100 Indian-American volunteers worked on the India exhibition. In 1986, many returned to work on the Japan exhibition; some even became Smithsonian employees.

The Festival—and the sense of community it has engendered—has generated its own folklore traditions, from our annual Father's day crepe breakfast to linguistic terms such



John McCauley, like other volunteers at the Festival, learns about the craftsman and the work and skills that go into a craft, and helps convey this to visitors during a break for the participant. (Photo by Dale Hrabak)

as “mushroom” (tool truck) and “fudgie” (tourist), from a rich lore of Festival stories to a material culture including the costuming of forklifts and electric carts. As Bauman and Sawin have suggested (forthcoming), the Festival is truly so for those who organize and work on it.

Through the Festival, new culture is sometimes created. This happens at special moments, either on the Mall or back at the hotel out of public view. New experiences and ways of thinking arise from the juxtaposition of cultures at the Festival. On a large scale, such may occur when communities are brought together. Last year, for example, a Saints' Day procession was recreated on the Mall by Italian and Portuguese Americans from Massachusetts. As the procession reached the Metropolitan Washington program, Salvadorans awaited with traditional sawdust drawings, which in Latin America are to be trod upon by processions. The Italian and Portuguese Americans took their cues from the Salvadorans and participated in the ritual. Similarly, Russian singers greeted the procession with songs to saints, and the people from Massachusetts hugged the singers, crying and dancing. More commonly, musical juxtapositions take place back at the hotel where musicians from India have jammed with Cajuns, Eskimos have sung with Koreans, Azerbaijanis have played



1988 Festival participants and visitors join members of three Boston-area Italian and Portuguese-American societies in a procession of Saints' statues around the National Mall. (Photo by Dane Penland)

with Greeks. Like the Festival, these types of meetings of cultures are ephemeral. But the Festival holds open the possibility of emergent, non-predictable cultural creation. Sometimes this has been sustained among individuals. During the 1986 Festival a Tennessee cooper observed and started sharing his knowledge with a *sake* cask maker from Japan. He wanted to learn more about cask making from a Japanese perspective and eventually received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to study in Japan with his fellow craftsman. The influence of Japanese techniques and aesthetics may in the future emerge back in Tennessee.

The Festival is a visible symbol of the larger structure that enables us to mount such an event. Our own public culture is shaped by traditions of governance, the observance of various freedoms, and common understandings of how we express ourselves. The Festival simply could not be mounted under certain circumstances. There are many countries of the world in

which the Festival could not occur.

The Festival is a symbol of our own national culture. Our formal political and legal history—as exemplified in such documents as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and cognate documents, such as the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen that we currently celebrate—establishes a context for the intensely public display of our cultural diversity and aspirations at the Festival. Yet there are times in our own history when the Festival would be untenable. The principles enunciated in our political structures and laws may be subverted when tides of popular fear of other cultures, intolerance of minorities, the narrowing of accepted values, racism, anti-Semitism and other forms of cultural discrimination and hatred are encouraged. Witness the injustice done in the name of the law to African Americans under slavery and continuing to the Civil Rights era (and its consequences as depicted in the National Museum of American History “Field to Factory” exhibit). And witness as well the

incarceration of Japanese Americans in detention camps in the name of freedom during World War II (as presented in the National Museum of American History exhibit, "A More Perfect Union").

The Festival is tied to our freedom. It is both a vehicle as well as an indicator of an open national cultural conversation. The Festival makes us proud: not chauvinistically proud, but, as Secretary Ripley used to say, quietly proud of who we are. And it is through that understanding and appreciation of who we are that we appreciate others. The Festival is a symbol of our ability as a nation to find unity in our diversity rather than insist on a homogeneous, singular national, or yet worse, human culture. It is no accident that the Festival was birthed during a time of national struggle, the drive for freedom and civil rights. It is no accident that the Festival occurs on the National Mall in the shadow of our national monuments as a platform for the nation. And it is no accident that the Festival is tied in time and place to a dream, an American dream, a human dream enunciated so clearly and powerfully by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and echoed yearly by grandmothers like Gladys Widdiss.

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American Indian Problems of Access and Cultural Continuity

Thomas Vennum, Jr.

That you may not destroy the [wild] rice in working the timber, also the rapids and falls in the streams I will lend you to saw your timber. Also a small tract of land to make a garden to live on while you are working the timber. I do not make you a present of this. I merely lend it to you. This is my answer. My Great Father is great, and out of respect for him I will not refuse him, but as an exchange of civility I must see and feel the benefits of this loan, and the promises fulfilled. (*Recollections of an Ojibway chief regarding negotiations with the federal government leading to the St. Peter's treaty of 1837*)

For more than two decades visitors to the Festival of American Folklife have been treated to a rich cross section of American Indian cultures. In recontextualized settings on the Mall, members of many tribes have shared their repertoires of songs and dances; constructed their wigwams, tipis, and brush arbors; coiled, glazed and fired their pottery; woven their baskets, seamless yarn bags, and saddle blankets. Festival visitors do not see these traditions in their natural contexts—on distant reservations or in pueblo plazas. Admiring the skills and enjoying the presentations, we assume that they must be well and flourishing in their home communities. The Festival this year addresses the issue of what is required to keep such traditions alive today. At home many of these

craftspeople and performers face economic hardship, their talents and aesthetic knowledge are ignored or considered obsolete, and the materials required to support their efforts are inaccessible or endangered.

Traditional lifestyles throughout the world depend upon a myriad of factors for their survival. While we seem to take their continuation for granted, our oblivious attitude to environmental dangers is paralleled to a great degree by our ignorance of the problems threatening the equally fragile cultural ecosystem. The healthy survival of certain crafts, for instance, depends upon a correct alignment of social and economic agendas with the natural environment. The Great Basin basketry traditions of Nevada tribes are threatened with extinction by colliding interests of Indians and non-Indians. Much of the Truckee Meadows willow habitat has already been plowed under for housing development. Where once the Paiute, Shoshone and Washoe customarily moved out early each spring to collect willow stems alongside streams where the bush grew naturally, today most remaining willow is on restricted private property, fenced in for cattle grazing or farming. In the arid climate of Nevada the willow, a thirsty bush, competes with cattle for limited water, so ranchers have attempted full-scale eradication of the plant, weeding it out or spraying it with herbicides. The traditional technology of basketry requires splitting the stems lengthwise into splints, and the centuries-old means of doing so involves holding one end of the stem between the teeth. Thus basket-makers, even if they can find willow, risk

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Wuzzie George, a Northern Paiute from Stillwater, Nevada, creates splints for weft used in weaving baskets. While one end is held between the teeth, each stem is split into three sections. The pith is removed from the inside of each strip and the splints shaved with a pocketknife. (Photo by Margaret M. Wheat, courtesy University of Nevada-Reno Library)

exposing themselves to toxic chemicals in working with the material. The decreasing access to willow and well-grounded fear of its contamination discourage Nevada Indians from searching it out. Many have given up basketmaking as a result.

In a study of traditional arts and crafts, the anthropologist Nelson H.H. Graburn points out a number of factors upon which their persistence depends. As with Nevada willows, the availability of traditional raw materials is a crucial determinant. But beyond that, notes Graburn, are the knowledge of skills and the aesthetics of the art, a continued demand for the items—either for local consumption or through markets outside the culture—and time for the artisan to work in creating the object without distraction. The question most frequently posed by Festival visitors to craft demonstrators is “How long does it take to make?” For in our consumer world of instant gratification, we are understandably curious about the time, skills and effort demanded of true artisans. Our relentless search for “bargains” leads invariably to

the next question: “How much does it cost?”

Prestige gained by the craftsperson from his or her home community is essential in maintaining a tradition, and if the item has some significant role in the belief systems of the people, that too will enhance its chances for survival. Concludes Graburn: “Much as we are nostalgic about these loved arts, people do not go on making them for our pleasure if our society and technology have destroyed the incentive to do so. They go off and become bus drivers or betel-nut sellers...” (1976:13).

The American Indian program at this year's Festival of American Folklife intends to address head-on the entire issue of *access* in a broadly conceived interpretation of the term. Simply put, what are the problems Indian people face maintaining their traditional cultures and thus their cultural identity as tribes and as individuals? Almost always the answer will identify impediments imposed by the dominant Euro-American society, motivated by economic, political, or social considerations. Access to natural



Datsolalee, Washoe basketmaker, in the 1920s with two of her prize baskets. She is considered by many to have been the unsurpassed master of the craft, based on the uniqueness of her designs, the perfection of her shapes, and the tightness of her work. (Photo courtesy Nevada State Museum)

materials such as willows is an obvious problem; others are more subtle.

The general despoilment of the environment and exploitation of natural resources on the American continent have resulted in the disappearance of many animal and plant species long held sacred by Native Americans—species ritually required in religious ceremonies and healing, often providing the very basis of a tribe's material culture. Along the northwest coast, for example, the clear cutting of vast stands of old-growth redwood and cedar by the lumber industry has impinged on the native cultures of the area, who formerly used timber for canoes, longhouses and totemic figures, and bark for medicine, clothing, dyes, baskets and musical instruments. Many of these clear-cut areas are being reseeded by the industry, but now with Douglas fir that grows much faster and can be harvested earlier for profit. Meanwhile, the decline of cedar and redwood is hastened by their increasing value as ornamental wood for Japanese furniture and rot-resistant American patio and sun-deck construction. Such materials are no longer as accessible to the people who for centuries have lived among the northwest

coastal forests. For them, these life-giving trees were sacred, figured prominently in their legends and belief systems, and were treated accordingly with respect rather than exploited for commercial advantage.

Access to traditional food sources is another problem addressed by the Festival. When American Indians were forcibly settled on reservations, the land chosen was often far removed from their traditional homelands. Foods customarily associated with their subsistence economies—especially wild game—were no longer available. Restricted by reservation boundaries, Indians found the more practical—or the only—alternative was to turn to the canned goods of the dominant society. Elders expressed a general distaste for these items, often citing their consumption as a cause of poor health. Complained Josephine Clark of Leech Lake Reservation in Minnesota: "Well, long time ago people didn't get sick like they do now, you know. Sometimes I blame the food we eat now. Maybe it's the food that does it...See, the Indians all had their land. They had [wild] potatoes, they had [wild] rice, they had maple sugar, they had deer meat, they had ducks—all these wild stuff, you know, they eat. They never bought anything from canned stuff. And they fixed their food their own way." (*University of South Dakota*: tape 241, p. 24)

Indian access to recognition is perhaps the most subtle of the themes considered in this year's Festival program. Ironically, in our educational system Americans are rarely reminded of the great debt owed to the original inhabitants of the continent. Indian people began sharing their foodstuffs before the first Thanksgiving at Plymouth Rock; later they showed how to cultivate corn—a crop now at the foundation of American agriculture and the world economy. They taught centuries-old technologies and never-bettered strategies for survival in the wilderness, from making canoes, snowshoes and toboggans to tapping maple trees for sugar and harvesting pumpkins, squash and wild rice. The symbiotic relationship that developed between Indians and fur traders was in fact essential to the westward expansion and development of the North American continent.

To address the question of access to recognition, this year we have brought spokesmen from the Iroquois Nation. Through competition in games on the National Mall and in workshops on our narrative stage, they will remind visitors that the game of lacrosse, increasingly popular on high school and college campuses, was originally an *Indian* game. It was intricately bound up with legend and ceremony and widely played throughout the eastern half of North America at the time of European contact—facts little known or credited to the Indian, even by many who now play the sport. When the great Indian athlete Jim Thorpe was stripped of his Olympic medals, the action was as racially motivated as the decision in 1880 by the National Lacrosse Association to declare Indians “professionals” and effectively exclude them from international competition.

The Collision of Cultures

The problems of access, of course, began with the arrival of Europeans in what Indian people (and some historians) have come to refer to as “The Invasion of North America.” In the process of colonization and increasing territorial expansion, there was an inevitable collision of cultures and displacement of native peoples. Driven by economic forces of the fur trade and the zeal of missionaries, the Ojibway living at the east end of Lake Superior at the time of contact were induced to become middlemen and guides for traders and missionaries, and their language became the *lingua franca* of barter throughout the area. Acquiring firearms from traders, they systematically drove out less powerful peoples from the area where the Ojibway are settled today: northern Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Indians were viewed as inferior “savages” whose way of life and landbase simply interfered with the expansion of the frontier, justified as it was by the theory of “Manifest Destiny.” In the 19th century, a number of expedient but drastic measures were adopted to solve “the Indian problem,” ranging from concentrating tribes onto reservations (thus acquiring their former lands and restricting their movements) to removing



Willows destroyed by cutting along a stream in Carson Valley, Nevada. (Photo by Catherine S. Fowler)

them to distant territories (such as Oklahoma, when southeastern tribes were forced to march on foot in “The Trail of Tears” in the late 1830s). In some cases outright genocide was seen as the only solution, such as the attempted extermination of the Apache in the southwest. Our Yaqui participants in this year’s Festival are descendants of political refugees who fled north from Sonora, Mexico, in the early 20th century, as soldiers deliberately attempted to kill off the tribe.

The very way that reservations were created affects current problems of access. Usually land was selected that was deemed “unsuitable” for the White man’s needs, which often meant barren or rocky topography useless for farming or lumbering. In one of the greatest recent ironies, five of the twelve sites initially selected by the U.S. Department of Energy for dumpsites to contain radioactive waste were on Indian land, one of them belonging by treaty to the Menominee. When the Menominee Reservation was plotted, it did not include Lake Shawano, traditionally the source of their wild rice. The new reservation land was so rocky that it precluded farming to substitute for the loss of wild rice, their traditional subsistence crop. But a century later, the Wolf River batholith on the reservation was eyed covetously by the Energy Department as the perfect crystalline rock to contain nuclear waste.

Reservations resulted from treaties entered into between the Indians and federal government. At the time they were negotiated Indians were generally unaware of the government's hidden agenda. In surrendering vast tracts of their lands, they understood that Whites merely wished to extract timber and minerals from the areas and then perhaps move on, little realizing that the land would be opened for settlement by non-Indians. In exchange for their concessions, Indians were adamant and specific about their continued right to practice aboriginal pursuits on ceded territories, perpetually free to hunt, fish, forage and gather materials. As Chief Martin of the Ottawa Lake Ojibway protested to the Governor of Wisconsin in 1843, "We have no objections to the white man's working the mines and the timber and making farms. But we reserve the birch bark and cedar, for canoes, the [wild] rice and [maple] sugar trees and the privilege of hunting without being disturbed by the whites."

For many reasons, Indian people never attempted until recently to exercise fully these off-reservation rights. In court cases, treaty language—never very clear—has been interpreted and reinterpreted, not always in the Indian's favor. Still, following certain landmark court decisions such as the Voigt decision (1983) affecting northern Wisconsin, Indian people suddenly find free access to practices and resources that have gone untapped for more than a century. In newly attempting to exercise their old rights—be they salmon fishing in Washington, or out-of-season deer hunting in Wisconsin—or even to regain territories illegally taken from them such as Oneida lands in New York, native peoples have engendered a new wave of resentment from their non-Indian neighbors, leading to protests, demonstrations and even ugly physical confrontations. Upstate New Yorkers, outraged over Cayuga land claims, fail to understand why they should be affected by legalities they know nothing about; northern Wisconsin sportsfishermen are angered when Ojibway spear walleyes in the traditional manner—a right granted in their 1854 treaty and upheld in court. Anti-treaty rights groups have been

formed with names like "Equal Rights for Everyone," insisting that they should not be affected by events more than a century ago. "This is 1989," they argue, "not 1854." Gaining access to the law and justice in redressing wrongs has been a long and arduous struggle for Indian people.

Reservations were but one solution to "The Indian Problem." In the latter half of the 19th century, programs to assimilate Indians into the great American "melting pot" were intensified. Ultimately the aim was to award them citizenship and suffrage rights that accompanied that privilege. To prepare their entry into society, every effort was made to eradicate their traditional cultures. Missionaries moved onto reservations to stamp out "heathen" religious practices; Indian children were trooped off to federal boarding schools, where they were deliberately intermixed with children from other tribes, forbidden from wearing traditional dress and given uniforms, punished for speaking their native tongues, and otherwise forced to conform to a non-Indian model.

Meanwhile, the reservations themselves—the last remaining landbase for most tribes—came under siege with the Dawes Act of 1887, which effectively broke up the communally held reservation property by allotting the land to individuals. Ostensibly this was to instill a "free-enterprise" spirit in Indians, induce them to take up farming in place of traditional hunting and foraging, and encourage personal initiative over tribal decisions. In actuality, the act was merely a ruse to further divide and conquer Indian people. Many Indians predictably sold off their allotments for short term gains; a period of land grabbing by unscrupulous non-Indian entrepreneurs siphoned off much of the rest. The result today is that many reservations resemble "checkerboards" of White/Indian land tracts. In some instances, tribes now own less than 10% of their original reservations.

Indian and White Attitudes to Property

In addressing the history of the access problem, it is important to contrast the Euro-American concept of land use with Indian attitudes towards land and property. Despite the fact that the majority of tribes in



The ancient Indian game of lacrosse, adopted by Whites in Canada in the mid-19th century and increasingly popular today on campuses, continues to be the major sport of many Indian peoples. These players were featured in a game at the 1975 Festival of American Folklife. (Photo by Jim Pickerell)

the east as well as riverine peoples on the Plains were settled agriculturalists, Europeans regarded Indians as nomadic peoples, roaming over large areas of land at will. There were no Indian mechanisms for surveying land to establish boundaries, no maps to delineate ownership, no fences or walls to contain properties; indeed, the very concept of private land was foreign to Indians. Indians nevertheless had a very accurate sense of geography based on topographical and other physical features. They relied on natural boundaries such as rivers, mountains, lakes and other landmarks, or they knew special areas to contain certain species. Although land itself was not owned individually, its resources could be claimed by a person or family. Indian people had various means of indicating usufructory rights to certain areas: the trees in a maple sugar grove were marked with a distinguishing slash of an axe, or wild rice on a lake was sheaved and bound using some distinctive twist or colored yarn to indicate the customary harvesting area of a particular family. Winter trapping areas were similarly

known, and transgressions by outsiders were dealt with severely according to Indian customary law.

At the root of Europeans' consternation was the failure to appreciate Indian ideas that land was communally and not personally owned. (This explains why Indian land claims in court today are pressed by sovereign Indian *nations*, not individuals.) In fact, an elaborate political interrelationship based on kinship operated to *ensure* property in communality, such as the marriage alliances binding together the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. Oblivious to these principles of ownership and sharing, Europeans were used instead to systems of private sedentary agriculture. What appeared on the surface to be perpetual nomadism needed to be checked or contained, Europeans asserted, if the continent were to be "properly" developed.

To be sure, many Indian people *had* to move in pursuit of food sources, as they practiced a subsistence economy. Their strategy for survival developed over centuries naturally led them to change locations

seasonally, as each item—animal or vegetal—"ripened." In the case of the Ojibway, for whom wild rice was foremost a vital staple but later paramount in value as a trade item, a seasonal rhythm had evolved, closely synchronized with the natural environment. In the summer months Ojibway were concentrated in villages by lakes or rivers, engaging in fishing, some gardening, and berry gathering. In late summer they moved to the wild rice lakes to harvest, process and store rice for their winter needs. Then they traveled to areas most heavily populated with deer for their hunting. During the winter months they fanned out in single family units to hunting and trapping territories—each area large enough to ensure a sufficient game supply for the winter. Come spring they moved into the sugar bush to tap maple trees. With the arrival of summer they returned to the lakeside villages and the cycle began anew.

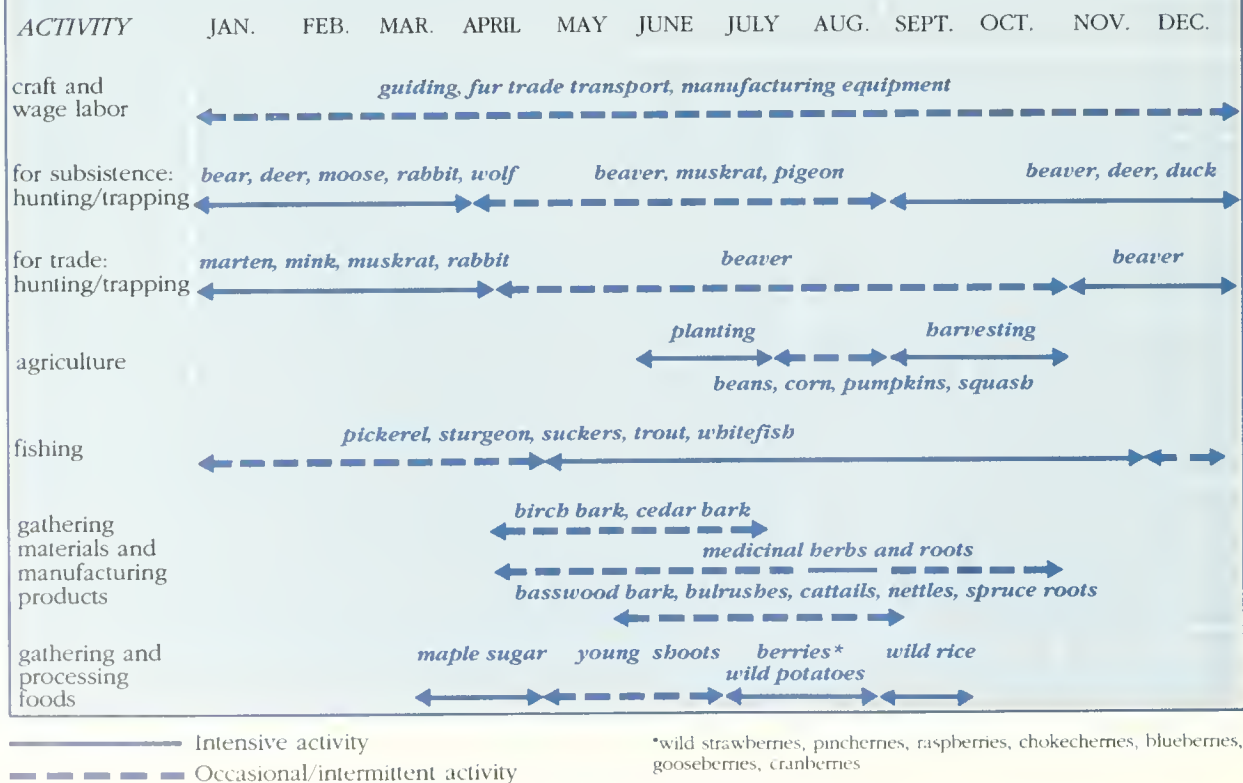
It should be apparent that forced settlement on reservations drastically reduced the

Ojibway's ability to pursue their traditional subsistence economy and threatened their food supply. When reservation boundaries were drawn, they often excluded the band's traditional rice lakes or sugar groves. Trapping and hunting were greatly reduced, and increased reliance on the foodstuffs of the dominant society was forced *upon* them. As a hedge against wild rice failures on the reservation, and taking advantage of the fact that treaties protected foraging rights even on territories ceded to the government, Ojibway began deliberately to sow wild rice seed in rivers and lakes previously lacking stands.

As settlers poured into the newly ceded territories, converting forests to farmland, they destroyed much of the former habitat of natural species. The resulting loss of game only exacerbated the situation for Indian people, as they continued to be deprived of the natural resources that had been the foundation of the traditional culture. Skills and craft traditions became obsolete as the

Fig. 1 Generalized Annual Work Cycle of the Southwestern Ojibway

From Thomas Vennum, Jr., *Wild Rice and the Ojibway People*, (1988) Courtesy Minnesota Historical Society Press

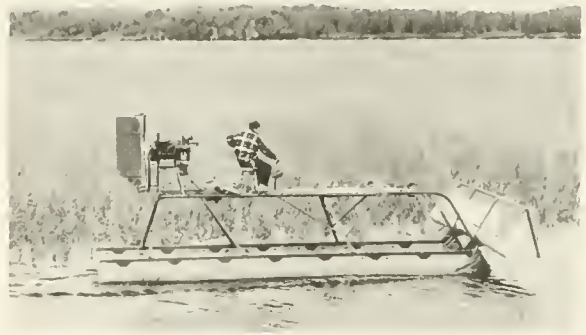




The traditional Indian technique for harvesting wild rice involves one person poling a boat through the stand while another bends stems over the gunwale and thrashes them with flailing sticks to release ripe kernels into the boat. The action of the boat and harvesters ensures that sufficient amounts of seed rice falls naturally into the lake to reseed the bed. (Photo by David Noble)

natural materials disappeared; the harvesting of birch trees for pulpwood, for example, hastened the decline of canoemaking. Today in the western Great Lakes region one can rarely find birch trees large enough to supply the bark needed for a canoe. As spruce forests were cut and stumps removed to render the land tillable, Ojibway lost access to spruce roots used traditionally to sew together bark sheets for wigwams, canoes and pails. Spruce stumps—ideal for parching wild rice because of their slow, steady burn—were no longer available.

One justification given in dispossessing Indians of their land was that they were not using it to its fullest productivity. This old European land-use theory continues to plague the world—its application in Brazil is the driving force of genocide throughout the Amazon rainforests. What is ignored is that Indians maintained a proper balance with their natural environment, practiced ecologically sound economies, and produced sustained yields for most of their needs. This approach is at odds with the western obsession to increase crop production and to harvest every last kernel. When these methods were applied to former Indian staples, the result often met with disaster. For example, when non-Indians first entered the wild rice



Mechanical wild rice harvester in Manitoba, 1971. Wild rice, an annual aquatic grass, requires that a certain amount of the seeds fall into the water and sink to the bottom to reseed the beds. These machines, which collect 90% of the rice, devastated many wild rice stands and were banned in Minnesota. (Photo by Dave Bonner, courtesy Supply and Services Canada, Photo Centre)

business in this century, they designed machinery to collect and process much larger volumes of rice than Indian technology had ever accommodated. Ojibway had mainly harvested only enough of this annual grass seed for their own needs; they allowed the remainder of the kernels to shell out naturally into the lake, fall to the bottom, and reseed the bed for the following year's crop. In fact, the traditional Indian means of harvesting rice by knocking ripened kernels



Dance of the Mandan Buffalo Band, depicted by Karl Bodmer, an artist accompanying Prince Maximilian of Wied in his exploration of the Missouri River, 1833-34. Members wear buffalo headdresses. Wrote Maximilian, "The men with the buffaloes' heads always keep in the dance at the outside of the group, imitate all the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions."

with flails into a canoe guaranteed that a good portion of the seed rice fell into the water. The Indians had always recognized this as good resource management, but incredibly the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources described the Indian harvesting method as "wasteful" in that so much of the crop was lost to the lake.

One of the first inventions to assist in the development of the wild rice industry was the mechanical harvester. A pontoon floating apparatus that worked like a lawnmower, it cut off every stalk of rice at water level and delivered its ripened panicle to a conveyor belt. These machines were so thorough in their collecting capacity that in their path of devastation there was little if any rice left to reseed the lakes naturally. Not only would such machinery, if widely adopted, put many Indian harvesters out of work, it had the potential of destroying many old rice stands forever. Accordingly,

the mechanical "picker" was prohibited by law in Minnesota in 1939.

Undaunted, industry-minded wild rice developers in the late 1960s turned their attentions to growing wild rice in artificial paddies, where all the advantages of modern agronomy—pesticides, fertilizers, controlled water levels and mechanization for all stages of processing—could be applied to produce the maximum harvest. When this technology was adopted recently by California growers, it created an enormous surplus; in 1986, more than 10 million pounds glutted the market. Since Minnesota paddy growers were faced with surplus rice, they began to "dump" it at fire-sale retail prices in towns near Indian reservations. The price Indians need to charge for their hand-harvested, natural lake rice is considerably higher. As a result, the market has shifted against them; many Ojibway have given up harvesting and selling their rice for the income it formerly



Beef issue to Standing Rock Sioux on ration day at Ft. Yates, North Dakota, 1876. Because buffalo, the traditional subsistence food, were nearly extinct, the government had to substitute cattle. Once every two weeks they were corralled, shot by police and issued to each family for butchering. (Photo courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution)

provided them. This income, though modest, was one they have come to count on for various purchases, such as, for example, back-to-school clothing for their children in the fall.

Resource Exploitation and Cultural Usurpation

At the root of many Indian problems of access to resources is the prevailing non-Indian attitude towards the natural world—that it exists to be exploited by man for short-term personal wealth and pleasure. It is important, however, not to romanticize “the noble Indian as ecologist” as some have done. Indians practiced sound conservation for pragmatic reasons. Although their respect for nature was reflected in various rituals such as “first feast” thanksgivings, or actions such as putting a pinch of tobacco as an offering in the ground when removing some root or plant or apologizing to a bear

before killing it, their motives were as much practical as spiritual.

Recent ethnohistorical studies of Indian resource management suggest that Indian use of the “gifts” of nature was strategically planned for the well-being of the community; special attention was given that the resource not be strained or depleted, thereby ensuring the same bounty for future generations. Today overproduction leading to depletion of resources is but one of the threats to the natural environment, depriving Indian people of traditional foods and materials. Waste and pollution are equally culpable. The wanton slaughter of bison—often merely for target practice from moving trains—had a devastating effect on many Plains tribes whose culture was so totally dependent upon this animal. Once numbering nearly fifty million, the bison were brought to the verge of extinction—at one time only several hundred survived. Often

the only items desired by the White man were bison tongues (a table delicacy) and furs for lap robes; the carcasses were simply left to rot. Such waste was viewed as a sacrilege by Indians for whom nearly every part of the animal had some use. Even dried dung was an essential fuel on the treeless Plains. After a kill, meat that was not consumed fresh on the spot was preserved for future use: sun-dried for jerky, or dried, pounded and mixed with fat for pemmican. Hides were sewn together for tipis or tanned for moccasins and other apparel, and sinews were converted into "Indian thread," tendons twisted together for cordage; even the stomach paunch and heart skin were used as containers. Bones were converted into tools, and the buffalo skull was retained for use in sacred ceremonies of the Sun Dance. When Plains tribes such as the Sioux were forced onto reservations, as part of their treaty rights they were promised annuities that included food supplies. Due to the near extinction of the bison, the government was forced to substitute beef cattle in their annual rations to the Sioux.

Pollution of all sorts has deprived Indians of access to traditional resources and occupations. Mineral tailings, oil spills, acid rain, herbicides and pesticides have all adversely affected the food chain and rendered inedible foods formerly relied upon. Mercury dumping by a paper mill in Dryden, Ontario, so severely polluted the river system that commercial fishing had to be banned by the government; summer resorts closed, so Indian fishing guides became unemployed. An Exxon mineral strike in northeastern Wisconsin, if developed, could well pollute Mole Lake downstream, the principal wild rice resource for Sokaogan Ojibway. The establishment of canneries in the 1890s in Alaskan areas of sea otter concentration polluted the environment and caused the sea otters to abandon their hauling grounds, where marine mammals habitually congregate when they leave the water.

Another form of pollution—the introduction of exotic species and diseases—has also taken its toll. Coastal Indians in eastern Canada may have been exposed to deadly viruses and bacteria by European fishermen

long before the "discovery" of America. Early records of the Jesuits confirmed the high mortality rate of native populations once infected by smallpox and influenza against which they had no immunity. Exotic plants and animals introduced to the New World habitat often threatened indigenous species upon which Indians relied. Russians "planted" foxes throughout the western Aleutian Islands to be harvested for their pelts. Unchecked and rapidly multiplying, the foxes became a menace to the native bird populations that the Aleuts required for food and clothing. Wild rice plants are threatened by the German carp that feeds on its roots; in some beds they compete for space with purple loosestrife, an exotic plant. As the American frontier moved west, the grazing areas of natural species such as bison and elk were usurped for cattle and sheep, and where natural species were deemed to threaten the newly imported ones, farmers and ranchers destroyed them with poisoned bait.

In a particularly outrageous action touching on the access issue, cattlemen in Wyoming in 1971 were found to have killed more than 500 eagles from helicopters, claiming the birds to be predators on lambs. (In fact, eagles only rarely prey on livestock.) The irony of that event is a particularly bitter one to Indian people, whose access to eagle feathers is severely hindered by laws protecting endangered species. While law enforcement agents were slow to prosecute ranchers for wanton eagle slaughter, federal agents in Oklahoma aggressively applied the law by arresting 22 Indians and six non-Indians, bringing them to trial and convicting them for possession of eagle feathers. The eagle is a sacred bird to Indians, its feathers symbolizing life itself. For centuries eagle feathers have been incorporated into sacred ritual paraphernalia and used as badges of honor. Now, the onus of proof is on Indians to show that feathers in their possession are exclusively for religious purposes.

At the same time denying Indian people access to elements of their traditional cultures, the dominant society redefined "The Indian" according to its own dictates. We



Yaqui Pascola and Deer dancers wearing strung cocoon rattles (*teneroim*) around the ankles and legs. These essential religious regalia for dancers are made of the cocoons of a giant moth of the Sonoran desert. They are not found in southwestern Arizona and must be purchased at great expense from Mexican Yaqui. (Photo taken with permission in November, 1976, by Jim Griffith)

have selected items from Indian culture to form stereotypes that have then been exploited for commercial purposes in a number of ways. Concurrently, America was expropriating what it could of Indian cultural elements. The game of lacrosse has been mentioned. Sculpted Indian figures emerged to hold cigars before tobacco shops; the stoic "fighting" image continues to be imparted to sports teams by naming them "Braves" or "Warriors"; Indian people cringe today watching the antics of the feather war-bonneted mascot at Washington Redskins football games. Indian musical themes, some of them sacred in origin, were grist for American composers, who expropriated them from their usual contexts and

gave them Western harmonic settings in their "Indian Suites." One Indian melody, in fact a sacred song of the Native American Church, was borrowed as a jingle-tune to advertise carpeting. Top-line fashion designers turn to turquoise, silver, buckskin and classic Indian patterns to combine them into expensive cocktail attire. For an automobile we accept the name choice and symbol design of "Thunderbird"—a powerful spirit in Indian sacred beliefs—but would recoil should Detroit venture to call its latest model a "Jesusmobile."

Solutions and Challenges

By raising the issue of Indian access at this year's Festival, we hope to stimulate

further dialogue between Indian people and the general public. More attention needs to be paid those aspects of their culture that Indian people feel cut off from, through education and increased media attention. Indians in many places have initiated their own solutions to these problems.

Indian resource management is increasingly a viable alternative to federal and state control over traditional resources. Successful wildlife management efforts on many reservations have demonstrated Indians' ability to produce sustained annual yields without succumbing to the temptations of short-term gains. After nearly a century of absence, bison and elk herds have been reintroduced on Plains Indian reservations. The National Park Service has cooperated with tribes in moving animals from over-stocked herds, such as in Yellowstone Park, to establish new herds on reservations under the supervision of tribal wildlife managers. There are of course problems attendant to such efforts: ranges must be carved from existing cattle grazing areas and heavily fenced in, not only to contain the buffalo herd but to protect it against poaching. Modern veterinary attention must be applied to check diseases, and the herd must be culled periodically to keep it at manageable size. To assist funding for herd management, South Dakota Sioux have implemented occasional trophy hunts, both for outside game hunters as well as local residents selected through lotteries. Buffalo meat is gaining increased popularity throughout the country as a rich protein source low in fat; many who have tried it prefer it to beef, and a consumer market is slowly developing for this resource. Meanwhile, as in the old days, some bison are slaughtered by tribal people for feasts; fresh bison skulls are now available for the sacred Sun Dance, which is enjoying a resurgence on the Plains. The general attitude expressed by Dakotan people shows an appreciation for this renewed contact with their past culture; most say it makes them feel good "just having the buffalo around." Success with bison reintroduction is leading to similar efforts with elk and big-horn sheep.

Elsewhere, Indian groups have banded to-

gether to attack common access problems. The Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Association, whose membership now includes eight reservations from three states, has been active on the conservation front through annual meetings and a bi-monthly publication, *Masinaigan* (the Ojibway word for newspaper). They support dialogue with Departments of Natural Resources and enlist the services of university researchers to assist in many activities: developing walleye hatcheries to restock lakes, studying the threats to wild rice beds from exotic plant species and fish, seeding lakes with wild rice, reintroducing a number of bird species, exploring pollution control and easement possibilities along vital streams, and conducting a general education campaign through public forums. This last item is a vital one, for combating racism has become an essential goal in the wake of tensions and confrontations ensuing from treaty rights decisions.

Meanwhile, access issues continue to plague Indian cultures in many areas. Improved marketing possibilities must be developed for craftspeople who receive but a fraction of the retail price of their products, given the enormous markup of middlemen in the trade. Some solution must be found to marketing Indian processed natural foods like wild rice. And Indian sacred places, from Blue Lake in New Mexico to the High Country of northern California, must be preserved and protected from the threats of development for ski resorts or cut off from Indian people by construction of logging highways. Legislation needs to be enacted to stop clear-cutting of National Forests. Federal agencies must more aggressively prosecute environmental violations adversely affecting Indian traditions, such as illegal covert logging on Indian land and destruction of endangered species by farmers and ranchers. In this way we can redress the many wrongs that have prevented Indian people from practicing these traditions so vital to a healthy culture, for only when people regain control of their cultural tools can they begin to deal effectively with the many social problems facing them.

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Hawai'i:

Cosmopolitan Culture at the Crossroads of the Pacific

Richard S. Kennedy with Lynn Martin

The Hawaiian Islands are at the same time one of the most isolated spots on the globe and one of the most cosmopolitan. Travel guides and most authoritative studies of Hawai'i often gloss over these critical contours of the state's landscape. While isolation is becoming a less useful term to distinguish cultural characteristics in this global village of satellite relays and facsimile communications, the geographic position of Hawai'i in the Pacific basin has shaped the history of the islands from their discovery and first settlement over 1,500 years ago up to the present day. In the past hundred and fifty years, however, the strategic location of the islands has made Hawai'i a crossroads through which the people of the world have passed. Many of these people have settled; together with the indigenous inhabitants they have formed a cosmopolitan culture as complex and rich as any in the world.

Before contact with Western powers in the late 18th century the people of these eight small islands in the vastness of the Pacific Ocean lived within the limitations of their precious land. Specific strategies had to be devised to stay alive and even flourish within such limits. The Hawaiians developed a finely tuned ecological understanding of their land and a system of conflict resolution necessary for living in close quarters. Contact with the West eventually dis-

rupted these direct relationships but this understanding has been kept alive in some of the cultural traditions of the Hawaiian people. In music and dance, the presentation of the *lei* and the reverence felt for the gift of a quilt, we can still discover a respect for the land and *aloha* for one's neighbor. Both values remain as vital expressions of the uniqueness of the state of Hawai'i.

Proverbial sayings, *ōlelo no'eau*, learned orally and passed down from generation to generation, are important in traditional Hawaiian culture. By far the largest number of these sayings describe *aloha ʻāina*, love or respect for the land. A similar concern for the land is rarely found in Western proverbs; this difference of focus is a striking indicator of the intensity of the clash of cultures that occurred once the first Europeans arrived in Hawai'i in the late 18th century.

When Captain Cook landed off the coast of Kaua'i in January of 1778 he was not aware that he had come upon one of the most isolated people on earth, inhabiting the last major island group in the Pacific to be discovered by Europeans. Speaking to the first men who paddled out to his ship he must have guessed that the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands were closely related to the people of Tahiti he had encountered on

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Women quilt together at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. (Photo by Lynn Martin, courtesy State Foundation on Culture and the Arts Folk Arts Program)

his first two voyages in the Pacific. A century passed before the details of this kinship could be established, but by 1846 scholars were speculating on the linguistic connections between the far-flung peoples of Polynesia; eventually archeological evidence would corroborate this common ancestry.

The people who were to become Polynesians spread out from Indonesia over 5,000 years ago in the first of a series of navigational feats that populated a string of islands stretching more than 5,000 miles across the Pacific Ocean. The people who eventually became Melanesians, Micronesians and Polynesians shared highly developed navigational skills and sophisticated knowledge of currents, stars and ocean swells. Gradually moving to Tonga and Samoa around 1,500 B.C., the Polynesians of the South Pacific developed a distinct culture circumscribed by the ocean and the plants and animals that they carried with them from island to island.

It was not until approximately 100 B.C.

that another major migration of Polynesian people journeyed to islands now called the Society Islands (Tahiti) and Marquesas. From there, the first voyagers embarked on one of the most remarkable journeys in Pacific history: without benefit of navigational instruments, people from the Marquesas traveled north over 2,000 miles of open ocean to land in the Hawaiian Islands sometime around 400 A.D.

The first settlers to Hawai'i brought with them many staples of the diet and culture that distinguish Hawaiians today. On their double-hulled canoes the people of Polynesia were able to transport and preserve taro, breadfruit, coconuts, chickens, and pigs, foods which even today serve as the main components of a *lu'au* (traditional Hawaiian feast). A later migration of Tahitians arrived in Hawai'i in the 12th century and established a strongly hierarchical society that separated men from women and nobles from commoners on the basis of strict *kapu*



Chinese passengers sailed to Hawai'i in 1901 to join thousands of other sugar plantation workers from China, Japan and Portugal. (Photo courtesy Hawai'i State Archives)

(taboos). Nevertheless the society that Cook met in 1778 was one that, for reasons as yet unknown, had been isolated from contact with other Pacific Island cultures for nearly 500 years. The legacy of this isolation was to affect the Hawaiian people during the subsequent decades of immigration and conquest.

Hawaiians today may appear to be more acculturated, and perhaps less concerned with their origins than their Polynesian neighbors to the South, but this implies no inherent weakness in Hawaiian culture. In fact, Hawaiian cultural accommodation over the years can be attributed to the strategic position of the islands in the center of the Pacific and their colonization by European and American powers. The European and American economic invasion of Hawai'i during the first century after contact was unparalleled in the Pacific. During a century of ocean travel, exploration, trade and tourism the most isolated spot on the globe became a popular port of call precisely because the islands were the only landfall within 2,500 miles. Diseases common among Westerners but not among Pacific Islanders reduced a population of more than 250,000 to fewer

than 40,000 by the end of the 19th century. By 1883, a hundred years after Cook's arrival and after the importation of thousands of plantation laborers, the Hawaiians had become a minority in their own land.

It is critical to try to understand how Hawaiians dealt with this massive dislocation. What were the strategies of survival that enabled Hawaiian culture to endure two centuries of contact with outsiders? What are the elements of that tradition that remain and flourish in spite of economic and technological forces far greater than any other Pacific people had encountered?

Aloha 'āina is not a romantic concept arising out of a need to reestablish roots in the soil; it is, rather, an ecological necessity born of people who had no choice but to accommodate themselves to the islands that became their home. Hawaiians had to know and respect the possibilities and limits of their land in order to live. The 6,425 square miles of volcanically formed land could sustain them but would never provide them with space for extensive growth. The traditional *ahupua'a* system of land division developed among the Hawaiians is a careful demarkation of the precious land based on a precise understanding of its ecology. This system took into account the potential of the land to produce food, clothing and shelter and of the sea to provide fish. Except for volcanic activity, the Hawaiian landscape changed little during the 500 years before the arrival of Cook. The ecological change that occurred over the subsequent years has been massive.

Any visitor to Hawai'i today who ventures beyond the confines of Waikiki will recognize the strong identification with the land that pervades the music, dance and crafts of Hawaiians. Even the music heard in Waikiki bears this trademark: its lyrics make constant reference to place. This attachment to place and to home is a quality of many traditional societies, but the degree to which Hawaiians place a cultural importance on origins and on land is remarkable. That this sense of place has endured throughout the century of dislocation that followed contact with non-Hawaiians is a reminder of the stability of this long-lived Polynesian society and its



Newly arrived Japanese workers pose with Portuguese *lunas* (overseers) and housing in the background. (Photo courtesy Hawai'i State Archives)

culture. The continuing focus on *aloha ʻāina* in contemporary Hawaiian music takes on a particular poignancy considering how little land remains in Hawaiian hands.

ʻĀpuka ʻĀina: The Desire for Land

Captain Cook arrived in Hawaiʻi in the vanguard of a world-wide economic revolution that soon encompassed and eventually dominated these strategic islands. The opening of the western coast of the Americas to trade with Asia and the interest that Europe and the United States took in the products and markets of these new lands set the scene for an inevitable confrontation between European and Polynesian values. The first of many waves of visitors to the islands included whalers and merchants who treated Hawaiʻi as a rest and relaxation stop as well as their refueling depot. Hawaiians had little resistance to diseases borne by the visitors or to the technologies of the Industrial Revolution. Some retreated but many embraced the newcomers wholeheartedly.

Other visitors came to Hawaiʻi, too, in the early 19th century. Unlike whalers who for the most part remained in the port towns, Christian missionaries who arrived in 1820 from New England stepped more deeply and much more profoundly into Hawaiian society. Within decades many Hawaiians had converted to the new religion. Many

early apostles of the New England churches lived simply and worked for the gradual but inevitable acculturation of the Hawaiian people into the world community. Certainly they were the first to introduce Hawaiians to European medicine, education and technology. While this introduction did enable tremendous economic development for the kingdom in the 19th century, it also served to destroy many of the indigenous systems that provided a cultural identity for the Hawaiian people.

The early 19th century American world view was that of an unsure power only recently independent. The spirit of manifest destiny and conquest was newly found and the country had little experience with cultural compromise. Within decades dance, music, religion, and even the clothes and buildings of Hawaiians were for the most part condemned, dismissed and gradually replaced with creations of rural 19th century New England. The *bula*, for example, was deemed licentious and banned. The worship of the Hawaiian gods was condemned outright. Clothes made of bark cloth (*kapa*) and houses made from local grasses were eventually displaced by Victorian dress and frame houses. Chants, too, were dismissed as pagan and replaced by *bīmeni* (hymn) singing. Such transformation occurred within decades.

Hole Hole Busbi

<i>Kane wa kachiken</i> <i>Wasba boreboreyo</i> <i>Ase to namidano</i> <i>Tomokasegi</i>	My husband cuts the cane stalks And I trim the leaves With sweat and tears we both work For our means
<i>Kaeramu mono wa</i> <i>Ikkai Nikai de</i> <i>Sue wa Hawai'i de</i> <i>Poi no koe</i>	Those who came on First and Second ships And still don't go back home to Japan Will become fertilizer at the end For the poi plants
<i>"Okure koure" wa</i> <i>kinu kara tegami</i> <i>Nan de okurayo</i> <i>Kono zama de</i>	"Send us money, send us money!" Is the usual note from home But how can I do it In this plight?
<i>Ryoko-menjo no</i> <i>Uragaki mita ga</i> <i>Mabu o suruna to</i> <i>Kaicha nai</i>	Though I checked what's written On my passport It doesn't say a word that I can't have A secret lover

Hole Hole Busbi were short songs sung by immigrant Japanese laborers in the fields. In the songs the workers spoke of the conditions of plantation life, often incorporating Japanese, Hawaiian and English words. From Dorothy Ochiai Hazama and Jane Okamoto Komeiji, *Okage Same De: The Japanese in Hawai'i*, (Honolulu: Bess, 1986) p. 38.

Inside the frame house, however, there remained a different attitude toward the things introduced from the outside, an attitude grounded in Hawaiian values. Hawaiian quilts provide one example of the process of cultural adaptation that has continued over the past 150 years. Missionary women included homemaking skills in the education of Hawaiian women; some such as quilting corresponded to long-standing indigenous practices. For centuries, the Hawaiians had made bed covers that consisted of layers of pounded mulberry bark (*kapa*) stitched together and printed with dyed patterns on the top layer. It is unclear when the first distinctly Hawaiian patterns appeared on quilts but their unique and explosively bright designs are unmistakable today. More important, however, is the sentiment that accompanies the quilt, reflecting a heritage that does not originate in New England. For example, quilt patterns are sometimes said to come to the quilter in dreams and the

power of these designs is said to reflect the spirit of the craftsperson. A pattern is named and the meaning of that name often remains the secret of the quilter.

In Hawaiian tradition, the quilt is not left on the bed but is stored until needed, much like the *kapa* covers produced earlier. So, too, one would not sit upon a quilt. As National Heritage Fellow Meali'i Kākama has said, "Many people feel having a quilt is a wonderful thing. It is so. Sometimes people just put it on the bed and climb on the bed. We never do that in a Hawaiian home. We never sit on our quilts and so if you ever receive a quilt you take good care of it. It is a rare gift." This attitude remains a part of the identity of many Hawaiians. But there was more than identity at stake in the fragile ecology of these Pacific islands.

Ho'ololi 'Āina: Transformation of the Land

Two economic institutions crucial to the

development of the multi-ethnic society of today were established in Hawai'i in the early 19th century. In order to tame the cattle that had been a gift to King Kamehameha from George Vancouver, Spanish *vaqueros* were brought from Mexico in the 1830s to work on the first Hawaiian ranches. Eventually a ranching industry would develop throughout the islands to feed the growing population and eventually to export beef to the mainland. The clearing of forests necessary for this industry radically altered the upland ecology of Hawai'i. More profound changes to the fabric of the islands, however, came with the development of the sugar cane industry, commencing on Kaua'i in 1835.

At first Hawaiians were employed on plantations to plant and harvest the cane. As disease decimated the Hawaiian population and the labor supply was found to be inadequate for the thriving industry, other sources of labor were considered by the plantation owners. The first new source of labor, the Chinese, arrived in Hawai'i in the 1850s. They joined a small community of Chinese who had come to Hawai'i earlier to make their fortunes as merchants. This first group of Chinese entrepreneurs was already an integral part of the growing Hawaiian economy of the early 19th century. In fact, it is said that the first sugar cane processing was probably done by Wong Tze Chun on Lana'i in 1802. By 1880, 85% of Hawaii's restaurant licenses were in the hands of Chinese businessmen. Much larger numbers of Chinese arrived in Hawai'i in the 1870s, especially with the expansion of the sugar industry that followed the lifting of American tariffs on Hawaiian sugar in 1876.

1876 was a pivotal year in Hawaiian-American relations. For Americans it marked the centennial of their revolution but for Hawaiians it represented the beginning of a very different economic, social and political revolution. Plantations would irreparably alter the natural and human landscape of Hawai'i and some planters themselves would eventually work to depose the Hawaiian monarch. Over the next decade, King David Kalākaua would live in splendor supported by taxes levied on some of the

massive profits made in the sugar trade. Within two years of his death in 1891 his family's rule was over. In 1881, however, while his elaborate palace 'Iolani was being built, Kalakaua became the first monarch to circumnavigate the globe, ostensibly in search of laborers for the new plantations that were being established across his kingdom. He brought back treasures for his new palace as well as a few agreements regarding the immigration of plantation laborers. The Chinese who had been brought to Hawai'i over several decades were joined by several boat loads of Portuguese from the Azores and Madeira, who were hired in part to work as *lunas* or overseers for the Asian laborers.

The planters, looking for new sources of labor and ever afraid of labor unrest, decided to bring in large numbers of Japanese workers in the 1880s. By the time the United States had annexed the islands in 1898, Japanese represented the largest segment of the islands' population. Annexation not only continued to alter the political and economic structure of the islands but also served to diversify further the social fabric by facilitating immigration from other areas. For example, Puerto Ricans beginning in 1900 and Filipinos beginning in 1907 joined the ranks of plantation workers who had been enticed to Hawai'i by scouts who traveled to these two other new American territories, luring workers with the promise of higher wages. Spaniards, Okinawans and Koreans also came in this last wave of imported labor and joined a work force that had become as complex as was the late 19th century industrial force on the east coast of the United States.

For nearly a century sugar was the major industry and economic force in the islands. In fact, until the end of World War II, the sugar plantation and later the pineapple plantation remained the central economic and social institutions that defined and molded the history of Hawai'i. Even today a majority of people in Hawai'i can trace one or more of their ancestors to the plantations which became another source of traditional culture in Hawai'i. On the plantation Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Puerto

Nā wai ho'i ka'ole o ke akamai he alanui i ma'a ka hele 'ia e o'u mau mākua?

Who could not help but be wise on a road that has been well traveled by my forefathers?

(said by King Kamehameha II when praised for his intelligence)

Ricans, Portuguese and others learned to co-exist and to work together, although their camps were usually separated. They brought with them what they could carry of their own respective cultures and eventually adapted it to life on the Hawaiian plantations. Though life was extremely difficult with little opportunity for enjoyment, some time was always found for relaxation. Through seasonal celebrations such as the Japanese *O-bon* or the Portuguese Feast of the Three Kings, immigrant laborers maintained an identity in spite of the harsh challenges of relocation. Such celebrations, with their dances and other festivities, continue today, marking the vitality of these former immigrant communities.

There were many differences between the experiences of workers who immigrated to Hawai'i and those who went to other parts of the United States. One obvious distinction lay in the rural nature of plantation work as compared to the industrial work required of laborers in factories of the urban Northeast. Nevertheless, the response of Hawai'i to its ethnic complexity was markedly different from that of its mainland neighbor. Not only did the rural plantation structure allow for more interaction and sharing among the different cultural and ethnic groups when compared to the urban residential ghettos of the mainland, but there was also a solidly Polynesian cultural base that still infused Hawaiian society in the 19th century. The values of this society encouraged acceptance and the warmth of spirit that is referred to as *aloha*.

The first half of the 20th century was a period during which the dozen or more ethnic groups in Hawai'i had to find a way to live together. The isolation that defined the development of early Polynesian society also limited the options of later immigrants. Return to the Azores, Puerto Rico or Southern China was difficult even in the early 20th century, so those who came as sojourners

instead became settlers. Inter-marriage between Hawaiians and these new immigrants helped change the heritage of the entire population.

Ethnic intermarriage in Hawai'i began with liaisons between Hawaiians and the first Chinese and American immigrants to the islands. Many early plantation workers were not able to bring wives and further intermarriage, especially in the 20th century, was commonplace. These marriages brought the cultures of Asia, the Pacific and Europe into intimate contact. With the migration of plantation workers to the cities and the breakdown of plantation life, people in most communities have continued to intermarry at an extraordinary rate. In recent years, in fact, it has been difficult for censuses to calculate the size of Hawaii's ethnic communities because many people have such a mixed ancestry that they are unable to select a single ethnicity. If you ask someone, whether a secretary in an office, a *laubala* hat weaver, or a construction worker, what his or her ethnicity is they will likely reply, "Well...my mom was half-Hawaiian and half-Chinese. My dad was Puerto Rican, Spanish and Irish...I'm a little bit of everything...kind of chop suey."

In the wake of this massive dislocation of people from their cultures as well as from their land, and in light of the ethnic mix that has resulted, it would seem that little would be left of Hawaiian or even Japanese or Portuguese identity in late 20th century Hawai'i. On the surface this is true. Especially since World War II and statehood in 1959, mass media, tourism (five million visitors a year) and the strategic position that Hawai'i holds in the Pacific have made it difficult for the islands to remain isolated from either mainland. However, even the casual visitor to the islands will observe that the people of Hawai'i have learned to live with each other while retaining attitudes and (especially in the past two decades) revitalizing institutions



Hula dancers perform at King Kalākaua's Jubilee *lu'au* in 1886. This public event, calculated to shock the missionary families who had condemned the dance two generations before, symbolized the King's support for Hawaiian traditions. (Photo courtesy Bishop Museum)



Hula dancers perform at the 1987 Merrie Monarch Festival held in Hilo. The festival, begun in 1964 as a tourist event, was named in honor of King Kalākaua who publically revived the art of *hula* in the 1880s. By the 1970s it had become a competitive event and focal point for the growing Hawaiian Renaissance. (Photo by Lynn Martin, courtesy State Foundation on Culture and the Arts Folk Arts Program)

and traditions that reflect their ethnic identities. At the same time, cultural borrowing in Hawai'i has been extensive and the state's rich cultural mix is a source of pride for all its citizens.

Lu'au, Lei and Plate Lunch: Local Culture in Hawai'i

Hawai'i is both geographically and culturally at the crossroads of the Pacific. In this multi-ethnic society music, crafts and food all provide important windows into the process of acculturation that has occurred in Hawai'i. The acculturated traditions that make up what people in Hawai'i refer to as "local" are the result of adaptation to ever-changing circumstances. At the same time Hawai'i's ethnic communities have retained and developed their individual identities which are expressed in the vitality of their traditions.

In the two centuries since contact with Western culture native Hawaiian traditions have been subject to tremendous pressures. Some ancient artistic expressions dwindled completely, while others continued. These losses were the result of a combination of factors including the loss of a functional or ceremonial role for many goods or services. For example, wood calabashes and *kapa* cloth were supplanted by metal containers and fabric.

The loss of art forms such as *kapa*, twined basketry from the roots of the 'ie'ie plant, cordage of natural fibers, feather capes, and wooden images is heightened when one considers that the early Hawaiians had achieved a level of artistic creativity and technical craftsmanship in these areas unsurpassed in the rest of Polynesia. With impetus from the "Hawaiian Renaissance" in the 1970s a few dedicated artists are now working to revive some of the "lost arts" of Hawai'i. With little context for use within contemporary lifestyles, they are usually sold or displayed as one-of-a-kind pieces for museums, private collectors, and galleries.

The temptation to mourn the past has for the most part given way to a practical desire to accommodate, to adapt, to incorporate what is meaningful and beautiful from the many groups that came to Hawai'i during

the plantation era. Hawaiian music and dance, maritime arts, stone work, herbal healing, *lei* making, foodways, quilting, *laubala* hat weaving and coconut basketry are among those art forms that have Polynesian origins and have been affected by other cultures. Aspects of Chinese, Japanese, Okinawan, Filipino, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, Korean and Pacific Island traditions have also survived the tests of time and reflect the pride with which these groups have maintained the salient aspects of their cultural heritages. It is this amazing array of influences that gives Hawai'i its unmistakable cosmopolitan outlook, shared by every level of the community - from politicians to farmers.

The cosmopolitan nature of Hawai'i is wonderfully reflected in the *lei*, in Hawaiian music and dance, and in the food traditions of the *lu'au* and plate lunch. In these traditions, among others, the people of Hawai'i transcend biases separating ethnic groups. Together, they enjoy traditions that are suffused by the "host" culture of the native Hawaiians and are shaped by the adaptability of the islands' people.

Today, music and dance are probably the most familiar elements of Hawaiian culture and have become symbols of this identity, both nationally and internationally. Some visitors to the islands may consult their guide books and maps, seeking to explore a remote *beiau* (ancient stone platform used for religious practices); fewer still may search out a traditional herbal healer. But, most experience some form of Hawaiian music and dance, whether it be in the airport lobby, a hotel dinner show, or a special performance at the Bishop Museum. The music and dance in the Waikiki showrooms bear only a slight resemblance to their ancient past.

Prior to the mid-1800s when Christian morality, missionary style hymn singing, and Western stringed instruments were introduced, *mele* (chant) was the basic form of musical and poetic expression. The older style of *bula* is now referred to as *bula kabiko* (ancient hula) and is done to chants accompanied by various percussion instruments, usually the *pahu* (ceremonial drum)



In the early 1900s *lei* sellers await the arrival of passengers on Steamer Day. *Lei* have always been a symbol of esteem in Hawai'i. (Photo courtesy Hawai'i State Archives)



In 1989 *lei* makers sell their flowers at the Honolulu International Airport. (Photo by Lynn Martin, courtesy State Foundation on Culture and the Arts Folk Arts Program)



At the turn of the century people gather at a *lu'au* in Honaunau on the Big Island for a traditional meal focused on large calabashes of *poi*. (Photo by Alonzo Gartley, courtesy Bishop Museum)

or the *ipu beke* (double gourd).

When missionaries arrived in the mid-1800s they disapproved of the bold and what they considered "licentious" nature of the *bula* and its ties to ancient gods. Thus, they discouraged it and managed virtually to ban it from public performance for at least fifty years. Fortunately, some of Hawaii's monarchs saw that the *bula* was integral to a Hawaiian sense of pride and identity. King David Kalākaua, often referred to as the "Merrie Monarch" because of his love of music, dance and merriment, is credited with much support for the *bula*. As a public statement, he invited dancers from around the islands to perform at his coronation in 1883 and the Jubilee Celebration of his 50th birthday in 1886.

In the late-1880s and around the turn of the century, *bula* began to evolve into what can be considered the folk dance of Hawai'i today, *bula 'auana*. The introduction of the

guitar by the Spanish-Mexican *vaqueros* (cowboys) and the *'ukulele* (developed from the Portuguese *braguinha*) dramatically affected this transition. Western melodies introduced in the form of church hymns (*bīmeni*) influenced Hawaiian *mele* to take on a more lyrical structure; these songs incorporated the new stringed instruments and provided the accompaniment for *bula 'auana*. Composers abounded, from the royal family to taro farmers, and their songs celebrated places, people and events.

Hula ku'i (*bula* that is put together) formed the bridge to the modern hula or *bula 'auana* (*bula* that wanders). *Hula 'auana* is less formal and structured in movement; the dancer interacts more with the audience, while still concentrating on telling his or her story with body, hands and song. This is the type of dance that one is likely to enjoy at a party or local bar, where a dancer might spontaneously join the



Friends gather on O'ahu for a *lu'au* to share food and listen to local music. (Photo by Norman Shapiro)

Hawaiian musicians for a dance, whether dressed in a lace-trimmed *mu'u mu'u* (long dress) or a pair of blue jeans.

From the 1920s to the 1950s Hawaiian music was affected strongly by its popularity on the mainland. Even earlier, at the turn of the century, when the first travelers came to the islands, the "tourist industry" began to employ musicians, inevitably altering the style and context of traditional music. *Hapa haole* (half Hawaiian - half English) tunes were composed that, though reflecting some aspects of the tradition, were part of a more commercialized popular expression of it. Today, a local recording industry flourishes alongside hotel entertainers, while urban and rural folk music persists in song and highlights slack-key guitar.

Hawaiian music and dance bring together people of a variety of ethnic backgrounds and ages to share in the enjoyment of good feelings for each other and their home. The

discipline and reverence that are part of the training in a *balau bula* (school for ancient *bula*) weave into the community a profound strength and cohesion. Thus, it is quite possible to hear Chinese-Hawaiian, Portuguese-English or Filipino parents proudly exclaim that their daughter danced at the Merrie Monarch *bula* competition. All communities in Hawai'i participate together in this Polynesian dance tradition.

Making and giving floral *lei* is another tradition that reflects Hawaii's cosmopolitan nature. *Lei* are known throughout Polynesia. Early Hawaiians fashioned their *lei* from durable materials such as shells, seeds, bones and feathers as well as from ephemeral materials such as leaves, ferns and flowers. The ecology of what is called "pre-contact" Hawai'i was radically different from what is seen today. Very few flowers and plants now found in the islands were growing at that time. Early Hawaiians fashioned



More than 100 descendents including six generations of relatives joined Chong Ho Loy How on her 100th birthday. Her daughter Margaret Aki, granddaughter Yuk Ching Nakashima, great-granddaughter Karlene Graylin, great-great-granddaughter Coreen Uilani Kauhi and great-great-great-grandson Justin Kauhi represent the Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian and English heritage of their family. (Photo by Jimmy Chong)

their *lei* from plants such as the pandanus fruit, blossoms of the golden *ilima*, and leaves and outer bark of the *maile* vine. Braided, twisted or strung *lei* were often worn around the neck, head, wrist and ankle. Over the last 150 years many flowers have been introduced, including orchids, carnations, and plumeria, but the techniques of fashioning them into *lei* have remained typically Hawaiian.

In early Hawai'i the *lei* was symbolic of regard and esteem for gods, loved ones, and oneself. Thus, important life passages prompt a multitude of remarkably diverse and spectacular *lei*. Even the Hawai'i state legislature opens with representatives, senators and members of the public garlanded with thousands of *lei*. *Lei* are also given for more informal occasions—when visiting a friend, to make an apology, or to express in gesture the warmth of friendship. Regardless of the occasion, the *lei* is a symbol of a feeling and therefore it is not so important

that the *lei* last but that the moment of giving and caring be enjoyed for what it is. As *lei*-maker Marie McDonald has said about the *lei*, "Anyone who has been born or has grown up or has come to live in Hawai'i is influenced by the *lei*...It will survive any and all cultural change, for there will always be people who will enjoy and need its beauty to express regard for others and self."

Food is the substance of living and as such plays a major role in any traditional culture. Hawai'i is no exception and the delight in one another's food traditions shared by people in Hawai'i is yet another facet of cosmopolitan Hawai'i. In the feast of the *lu'au* and in the everyday "plate lunch," Hawaii's cultural and ethnic groups come together to dazzle one another's taste buds and enjoy their cultural differences.

The *lu'au* of today's Hawai'i is an outgrowth of feasting around a Hawaiian earthen pit oven - the *imu*, which is a traditional way of cooking throughout Polynesia. In pre-contact Hawai'i men and women ate separately; today the *lu'au* is a celebration that brings together the nuclear family, the extended family and often the larger "family" of the community. The word *lu'au* didn't appear until the mid-19th century and actually refers to the tops of the young taro leaves that are sometimes cooked with fish and chicken in coconut milk as one component of a Hawaiian feast. The meal that is now presented at a *lu'au* offers Hawaiian foods such as *kalua* pig (pig cooked in the *imu* and then shredded), fish, *opih*i (raw limpets), *lu'au* stew (taro leaves, coconut milk and usually pieces of octopus or squid) and, of course, the Hawaiian staple, *poi* (a pounded custard-like starch made from cooked taro). Characteristically, there is also an amazing array of ethnic foods including chicken long rice introduced by Chinese, *sushi* by Japanese, chicken *adobo* by Filipinos, and macaroni salad by U.S. mainlanders. Other more exotic items considered to be Hawaiian include *lomi-lomi* salmon (whose origins can be traced to the whalers who came from the Pacific Northwest), *lau lau* (taro leaves wrapped around fish, pork or other meat and steamed or cooked in the *imu*), *haupia* (a coconut milk custard) and

kulolo (a taro, coconut milk and molasses dessert).

"Local" *lu'au* are huge undertakings that may feed anywhere from one to five hundred people; they are held by a family to mark an event of great importance such as a marriage, a 50th wedding anniversary, and especially the first birthday of a baby—called a "first year baby *lu'au*." This local gathering bears only slight resemblance to the *lu'au* many visitors experience as part of their hotel package. Hotel *lu'au* usually feature only a few of the traditional food items sprinkled among foods more appealing to the mainland palate and a Polynesian review floor show, more often than not made up of Tahitian *tamure* dancing and a Samoan fire dancer.

"Plate lunch" or what is sometimes called "mixed plate" is more an everyday kind of meal and also demonstrates Hawaii's cultural diversity expressed in food. Lunch wagons park on many corners, patronized by people from all walks of life. The plate usually consists of two scoops of rice, some macaroni salad and a meat or fish dish from one of Hawaii's ethnic communities. *Bento* is another popular everyday lunch and its Japanese origin does not preclude all sorts of other things appearing on the bed of rice that forms the base. Both meals represent some of the same processes of cultural adaptation as do Hawaiian music or the modern *lu'au*. The meal is a successful combination of cuisines that, much like Hawaiian culture as a whole, is inclusive in spirit.

Hawaii is a complex state that is home to an incredible array of ethnic groups and cultures. Each of these groups has maintained its unique identity and at the same time blended to create "local" traditions that are expressive of the community as a whole. However, increasing pressures from foreign investment and mass media are today further disenfranchising native Hawaiians and threatening the stability of several generations of other cultures in the islands. Hawaii's characteristic attitude of tolerance and acceptance, molded in part by centuries of isolation, may be compromised by such pressures. These attitudes and Hawaii's

fragile artistic traditions are inextricably tied together. Preserving these arts is crucial, for a community's psychic well-being is only as strong as its commitment to protecting its traditions.

This article benefited from the comments of Dolly Strazar, State Foundation on Culture and the Arts.

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Les Traditions Françaises: Leur Évolution et Leur Survivance en Amérique du Nord

Cette année, nous célébrons le bicentenaire de la Révolution Française en analysant le patrimoine français contemporain, ainsi que celui des communautés francophones en Amérique du Nord. En Bretagne, en Normandie, au Poitou, au Québec, en Nouvelle Angleterre, au Dakota du Nord et en Louisiane, nous retrouvons des communautés qui partagent une souche et une langue d'origine commune. Ce Festival est le témoignage vivant de la survivance du patrimoine dans ces communautés francophones et revendique l'importance des droits de l'homme qui permet l'expression d'une identité régionale.

La Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen, document issu le 26 août 1789, garanti à l'être humain les droits inaliénables de liberté et de libre expression. Ce document déclare que "Les hommes naissent et demeurent libres et égaux en droits....Ces droits sont la liberté, la propriété, la sûreté, et la résistance à l'oppression." La musique traditionnelle, les traditions orales et l'artisanat des communautés francophones reflètent les tensions entre le conformisme d'une culture nationale et le droit que les individus et les régions revendiquent pour exprimer la culture régionale qui leur est propre.

La diversité des traditions orales de souche française en Amérique du Nord est le résultat de plusieurs migrations: des Français s'établissent en Acadie et au Québec, d'autres en Louisiane, des Acadiens retournent en France et puis émigrent en Louisiane, des Canadiens d'origine française descendent le long du Mississippi et s'établissent en Illinois et au Missouri, des coureurs de bois français se marient avec des Amérindiens, des Français importent des esclaves africains de leurs colonies des Antilles pour aider à subvenir aux besoins agricoles, et des Québécois émigrent en Nouvelle Angleterre.

L'évolution du patrimoine français dans le Nouveau Monde est le résultat de courants historiques spécifiques à chaque région. Le désir de maintenir une certaine identité, d'affirmer son patrimoine ou de se différencier des autres a changé le mode de vie de chaque groupe. Des

transformations sociales et politiques internes, des influences et des pressions venues de l'extérieur, et des emprunts des cultures avoisinantes ont contribué à la formation du patrimoine dans le Nouveau Monde.

Nous retrouvons cette diversité culturelle en France. Dans les régions dont sont originaires les ancêtres des francophones d'Amérique du Nord, la Révolution Française n'a pas éliminé une certaine identité régionale. Chaque région a des traditions de danse et de musique particulières, et un parler régional. Cette distinction culturelle est très marquée en Bretagne puisque cette région est linguistiquement divisée en deux. Quoique les Bretons de Basse-Bretagne partagent aujourd'hui une certaine culture commune à tous les Français, historiquement et du point de vue de la langue, ils font partie du monde celtique. Leurs traditions orales et leurs croyances sont différentes de celles des autres communautés françaises.

Ce qui anime la survivance du patrimoine ou la force de le re-crée est le désir des porteurs de traditions d'affirmer leur identité, de combattre l'homogénéisation, de maintenir le droit de tous les êtres humains de s'exprimer de la façon dont ce sont exprimés leurs ancêtres. Dans les régions où l'hégémonie politique a essayé de forcer une assimilation, comme en Acadie, au Québec, en Louisiane et en Bretagne, la détermination de maintenir le droit de libre expression est plus marquée et a pour résultat la survivance des traditions—telles que la langue et la musique—qui servent à maintenir l'identité du groupe.

Tandis que nous présentons et célébrons les traditions françaises, leur survivance, leur créolisation, leur ré-animation, leur futur en Amérique et en France, il est utile de se rappeler que la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen peut être considérée comme un décret concernant la préservation culturelle. La langue, la musique, la littérature orale sont tous des instruments et des indices de survivance culturelle.

French Traditions: Their History and Continuity in North America

Winnie Lambrecht

This year we celebrate the bicentennial of the French Revolution by examining contemporary folk traditions of France and of French-speaking peoples of North America. The people of Brittany, Normandy, Poitou, Quebec, and the French-speaking communities of New England and Louisiana, North Dakota and Missouri share a common origin and linguistic affinity. Each of these communities has selectively preserved and modified this French cultural heritage in a specific historical and geographical setting despite pressures toward cultural homogenization and political attempts to restrict cultural continuity. Common and transformed elements of expressive culture continue to serve each group's own internally defined needs, including that of self-identification within a larger society. What then connects the expressive culture—the musics, crafts and dance—of these communities with the political events of distant history, and with the ideas that animated those events?

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, proclaimed in the first weeks of the French Republic on August 26, 1789, asserts the inalienable human rights of self-determination and freedom of expression. From the Bretons of Basse-Bretagne to the Michif of North Dakota, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, today's traditional music, verbal art and material culture reflect the tensions

between pressures toward conformity with a singular national culture and the rights of individuals and communities to assert their own cultural identities. This Festival of American Folklife program illustrates both the continuity of folk culture in the Francophone communities of France and America and the contemporary importance of human cultural rights for the free expression of communal identity.

Francophone North America was mainly peopled by immigrants from the Atlantic coast of France and their descendants. The evolution of traditional French culture in the new continent was the result of historical forces specific to each area. Desires to maintain self-identity, to assert one's heritage or to distinguish oneself from others altered the lifestyle of each group. Internal social and political transformations, external influences and pressures, and cultural elements borrowed from neighboring communities contributed to the traditions that took shape in the New World.

Cultural diversity is no less important within France. To the outside world France might appear as a cultural unity, but in fact it is a country of considerable cultural diversity. One of the goals of the Revolution—national unification—was not welcome in those regions of France that were not only distant from the events in Paris, but were

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America, a program on the occasion of the Bicentennial of the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, has been made possible by the American Committee on the French Revolution with the generous support of the following corporations and foundations: Archer-Daniels-Midland Foundation, Arthur Andersen & Co., General Electric Foundation, Gulf + Western Foundation, IIT Corporation, KPMG Peat Marwick, Lazard Frères, Warner-Lambert Company and the assistance of the governments of the Republic of France and the province of Quebec.



Missouri French speakers have preserved French music and foodways despite being isolated from other Francophone groups for generations. Roy Boyer, fiddle (l.), Gene Hall, fiddle (back), Paul Dennen, guitar and Charlie Pashia. (Photo by Howard W. Marshall, Missouri Cultural Heritage Center)

also culturally and linguistically different. Ethnic minorities within France who spoke languages other than French were subject to the same kind of edicts as those that later forced French speakers in Acadia, Quebec and Louisiana to adopt English, the language of the culture that came to dominate North America politically and economically. This compelled conformity and intolerance of cultural difference led minority communities in France to seek greater opportunity elsewhere—primarily in North America. Conditions in France prior to the Revolution prompted disenfranchised people, especially in the rural areas, to follow earlier mariners and explorers to North America. The French Revolution prompted new migrations among its dissenters (royalists, some of the Catholic clergy, and tenant peasants, the most notable of these counter-revolutionary groups being the *chouans*).

The complexities of these historical movements and their results can be illustrated by the case of French settlement in Missouri.

French settlements in the Mississippi and Missouri Valleys were the result of early expeditions by fur traders coming from the north in search of additional bounty, and explorers from the south in search of mines that had already been signaled by De Soto in the late 16th century. These early French settlements started as forts or missions, and most had French populations too small to produce enough food for their own subsistence. They soon imported slaves from the French colonies in the Caribbean—Haiti, Martinique and Guadeloupe. Indeed, in many communities the African population outnumbered the French. Thus, many of the oral traditions in these communities reflect very strong African and Creole (Afro-Caribbean) influences. The French in Missouri were cut off from regular contact with other French-speaking communities during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. English speakers started settling in the area in great numbers; political authority and mercantile activity became their domain, and the

French found themselves a disenfranchised minority. As a result of these historical events, French musical traditions are scarce in Missouri and absent in neighboring Illinois. Instead, the Francophone community maintains its distinctiveness largely through its foodways and oral traditions. *Boudin noir* (blood sausage), *beignets* or *beign chawwage* (puff cakes), and *tart à bouillir* (a pie) are all part of the culinary tradition in current day Missouri.

On the other side of the Atlantic, the story is no less complex, though internal migrations were not as frequent in France as they were in North America. Brittany is part of France, and therefore partakes of French culture. While Bretons share a number of cultural elements with other French citizens, they are historically and linguistically more part of the Celtic world, especially those in the region of Basse-Bretagne. Brittany (or "Amorica" as it was known) was not widely evangelized until the 5th or 6th century, after other parts of France had already been Christianized. As a result, oral traditions and belief systems of the area remain quite distinct from those of other parts of France. In some French areas it is topography that leads to isolation, but in the case of Brittany the isolation is cultural in origin. Many Bretons migrated to North America, but they were outnumbered by those who came from other parts of France, and their language did not survive the cultural milieu in Acadia and the other French Canadian areas where they settled. Interestingly, however, Cajun French is testimony to an early migration of Acadians (including Bretons) to South Louisiana and includes nautical terms and other linguistic evidence of Celtic influence.

Today's varied mosaic of French-derived or influenced oral traditions in North America results from various migrations: French who came to Quebec or Acadia, others who settled in Louisiana, Acadians who returned to France and then migrated again to Louisiana, French Canadians who came down the Mississippi and settled in Illinois and Missouri, French *coureurs de bois* (woodsmen) who intermarried with American Indians, slaves brought to French colonies to help meet agrarian needs, and Québécois who

immigrated to New England. In some communities a large number of active bearers of these traditions maintain them proudly; in other communities French-derived traditions are scarce, and the number of active bearers very small. In yet others, such as the Métis in North Dakota, French traditions have become part of a new cultural complex through "ethnogenesis." Ethnogenesis is the conscious creation of a new cultural lifestyle by a group of people who, having lost their cultural identity through oppression or assimilation, feel the need to reassert a separate cultural community.

Conjoined Cultures: France and North America.

On July 14, 1789, Parisian citizens took the Bastille, an act that came to symbolize the overturn of the old regime and the beginning of the French Revolution and a new era. A few weeks later, on August 26, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was proclaimed. It contained the formative principles of the French Constitution of 1791. It states that "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights....These rights are Liberty, Property, Safety, and Resistance to Oppression." On another continent, thirty days later, the Bill of Rights was signed in New York as a fulfillment of the American Revolution. Two men on either side of the Atlantic with a shared vision of liberty contributed to these events: Lafayette and Jefferson. Lafayette first served in the American revolutionary army, and later played a leading part in the French Revolution; Jeffersonian ideas were embodied in the political movements on both continents.

The political and philosophical connections between France and the New World were never again as strong and direct as during that period, but France had already established ties to the American continent prior to these historic events. From the early 16th century, French fishermen and mariners from Le Havre, Dieppe, Rouen, Honfleur, and other fishing ports explored the waters off the North American coast. Initially, these mariners carried their haul back to France; soon, however, they began to dry their catch



Louis LeBellanger in his home in Marigny, Normandy. Though the French played a variety of instruments, the fiddle became the dominant instrument in French communities in North America. (Photo by Winnie Lambrecht)

on North American land and established depots in Newfoundland and the Acadian peninsula (the northern coast of Maine, the southern portion of the Gaspé peninsula, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Magdalen Islands). There they first came into contact with native inhabitants such as the Micmac, the Hurons, the Iroquois and the Montagnais.

Curious about these new lands, explorers supported by European courts led expeditions to the New World: Verrazano in 1524, Cartier in 1534, and Champlain, who founded Quebec in 1608 and was later the colony's first governor. These early expeditions led to the beginning of New France and the establishment of French colonies on American soil. An active exchange sprang

up between French fishermen and early settlers seeking furs from their Indian trading partners. By 1630 a number of trading posts were established, and French fishermen wintered in Acadian coves; about 1636 the first families arrived. They came mostly from the western parts of France, searching for economic gain and fleeing from political and religious persecution. These early immigrants brought with them the traditions, beliefs and agricultural and maritime skills that had been passed on to them for generations. The demands of a new environment, the absence of familiar natural resources, and new economic and social challenges brought changes in the tool kit and habits of these settlers. The new circumstances called for both local inventiveness and borrowing

from indigenous populations. Yet many of the French traditions survived, particularly in the verbal arts.

When the first census of the settlement of New France was taken in 1671, many families were headed by craftsmen whose skills were essential for the survival of small communities: tool makers, gunsmiths, coopers, and weavers. Others listed themselves as farmers. Besides the 400 families counted, there were also *coureurs de bois*, fur traders who lived with Indians, and administrative officials. These founding families were seminal in shaping the nature of life in the New World: "three-fourths of all the Acadians living today, either in Louisiana or Canada, or Nova Scotia or Europe are descended from the families listed in the census of 1671" (Stacey 1979:75).

Early 17th century French settlements in the New World attracted English resentment and reprisals. The English felt that these settlers and traders had intruded upon their lands and a series of conflicts ensued. The fur traders who had become the mainstay of French Canada maintained contact with the Huron, the Algonquins, and the Montagnais. These contacts provoked the anger of the Iroquois, who were trading with the British. Rivalries among European colonials and among American Indian groups resulted in a series of wars, culminating with the expulsion of the Acadians by the British, who had tactical and military superiority. On August 1, 1755, Governor Lawrence ordered all French to be removed from Acadia without their possessions.

Though many French settlers had already left Acadia after the area came under British flag in 1713, Governor Lawrence's order in 1755 forced the evacuation of hundreds of Acadians from the lands they had settled. Many French settlers were imprisoned and many others were exiled. This period of imprisonment and deportation, known in French Canadian and French American history as "le Grand Dérangement," continued until the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Exiles were scattered, families torn apart and resettled in the British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard (Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Maryland—the only



In Acadia and Quebec, the survival of musical and dance traditions was sometimes challenged by religious prohibitions. Henri Landry of Ponbriand, Quebec, at the home of friends. (Photo by Lisa Ornstein)

place where they were welcomed, due in part to the Catholic presence in Baltimore). Sixty percent of these exiles died before reaching a safe haven. Rejected from most areas, they eventually found their way to French colonies in the West Indies, went to other parts of Canada, or settled in what would later become Louisiana, then under Spanish control. Throughout the 1760s, Acadians continued to come to Louisiana from temporary refuge in Canada, Nova Scotia and the West Indies.

Other exiles asked to be sent back to France. They were resettled mostly in the seacoast towns of Western France. With no way of supporting themselves and unwilling to settle under the quasi-feudal regime of the French monarchy, most of these families eventually migrated to Louisiana. Most of the Acadians arrived in Louisiana between 1765 and 1785 and settled along the banks

of the Mississippi, Bayou Lafourche, and west of the Atchafalaya Basin on Bayou Teche.

The beginning of a strong French presence in Louisiana dates from the late 17th century. French traders in search of additional sources of furs had moved west to the Great Lakes and then south. Among these explorations, one of the most noteworthy was that of La Salle, who led expeditions down the Mississippi into Louisiana in 1681. In his party were the first Europeans to come to that area and to reach the Gulf of Mexico from the north; they claimed the area for France in 1682 and named it in honor of Louis XIV.

Small groups of settlers gradually came to Louisiana but since few were attracted to the area, the early inhabitants brought Black slaves from the French settlements in the Caribbean to till the land and raise crops. Officials in France also tried to attract other Europeans to the area. In the 1720s, German colonists first arrived in Louisiana, and many moved "up river," north of New Orleans to an area that came to be known as "the German Coast." Stacey (1979:111) writes that "in the 1760s, the provisions generously offered by the settlers of the German Coast saved the Acadian exiles..."

The French settlers selectively appropriated cultural items from the various groups that contributed to the social fabric of life in Louisiana. Among these cultural practices were fishing techniques from the Anglo-Americans and cooking practices from Afro-American slaves. Like earlier colonists, these settlers also came in contact with the indigenous populations of Louisiana such as the Houma, the Choctaw, the Coushatta, and the Tunica-Biloxi. The new residents borrowed certain agricultural practices, foodways and other traditions from the Indians. They learned how to weave palmetto, build dug-out canoes and use local flora for medicinal purposes. The Houma in turn incorporated elements of Acadian culture into their traditional lifestyle. They are said to be "among the most traditional speakers of the Acadian dialect in the state" (Gregory 1985:106). Young Houma children today, particularly in Terrebonne Parish, are more likely to speak

French than their Cajun contemporaries.

The Acadians or Cajuns (as they came to be called) also incorporated cultural items from Black Creoles from the Caribbean. Though Cajuns had few slaves, they were close to large plantations and absorbed the Afro-French Creole language. Contemporary Cajun foods such as gumbo and Cajun music—with its Afro-American blues and Afro-Caribbean rhythmic influences—show direct influence from slaves and free people of color.

The movement of French-speaking immigrants out of French Canada did not stop in the 18th century. During the 19th century, French farmers in Quebec faced many difficulties: low productivity on farms, an inheritance system that led to the fragmentation of farms, and a burgeoning population. Many Québécois migrated to New England, where a thriving textile industry offered seasonal employment to immigrants.

Between 1830 and 1850, the textile industry in New England witnessed an extraordinary boom. The industry had first employed unmarried girls from the rural areas of northern New England. Newly arrived Irish immigrants also provided labor for the growing industry. Between the 1860s and 1900, factory owners turned increasingly to the human resources of Quebec. In 1850 the permanent French-Canadian population in New England was about 20,000; by the 1860s it had doubled. This growth in labor from Quebec was facilitated by "the relative proximity of New England and the availability of cheap, rapid transportation by rail" (Brault 1986:54).

The alarming rate of emigration to New England led to a repatriation campaign by the Quebec government in 1875. Government offers of inexpensive farmland, fare reductions on railroad tickets, and visits to mills by French Canadian clergymen were all part of this effort to stem emigration. As a result "half of the French Canadians who emigrated to New England before 1900 subsequently returned to Quebec" (Brault 1986:82).

Though many French Canadians assimilated to their new homeland, a greater number maintained their language, traditions,



Marie Dean, Houma palmetto weaver at her home in Dulac, Louisiana. French settlers encountered American Indians, borrowing a number of traditions from them, including palmetto weaving. (Photo by Nick Spitzer)

(l) Michif musicians from the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota, performed at the 1976 Festival of American Folklife. (Photo by James Pickerell)



Alphonse "Bois Sec" Ardoin with his family in Eunice, Louisiana. The diatonic accordion was widely adopted by Louisiana musicians, including Afro-French creoles who developed their own musical style called "zydeco." (Photo by Nicholas Spitzer)

and musical repertoire, and their family- and church-centered way of life. The immigrants had come mostly from isolated small rural communities along the St. Lawrence and Richelieu rivers. These self-sufficient farming communities included the parish priest (often the most influential figure in the area), craftsmen and merchants (Brault 1986:8). The immigrants also maintained the ideal of *survivance*, loyalty to the French Canadian inheritance, and the duty of preserving its customs. The result has been a strong sense of ethnic identity and a commitment to preserving the use of the French language, despite the discrimination that French Canadians suffered in New England.

As the French moved west, fur traders and *coureurs de bois* intermarried with American Indians. In spite of a desire on the part of French settlers to maintain their separateness, marriages between Indians and French were not limited to the western or more remote areas of colonization and

many such unions took place. As many as 40% of French Canadians can claim some American Indian ancestry (Dickason 1985:19). Children of French colonists and American Indians often became traders and cultural brokers, intermediaries between the two communities. Their isolation from the rest of New France caused them to adopt ways of life that differed from both their French and their American Indian ancestors, and led to the formation of a distinctive culture known as Métis—literally meaning "mixed"—culture. Métis groups, each with its own history and traditions, are found in various areas of the Great Lakes and north and west of that region. The Michif people of the Turtle Mountain Reservation in north central North Dakota are among those who have retained a number of French derived traditions.

Marriages between the French and the American Indians they encountered and on whom they depended for survival and trade

also produced other elements of culture that partook of both traditions. Michif, the language spoken today by the Métis of the Turtle Mountain Reservation, probably developed early during contact between the French and the Cree. The complex history of the Métis of the area, as well as that of the Cree and the Chippewa, reflects all of the tragedies that characterized the treaties and land claims between the United States government and American Indians. It is made even more complicated by the fact that these American Indians moved freely between what became two distinct countries separated by a boundary that was meaningless to the Cree, the Chippewa and the Métis.

Michif has been considered alternatively as a distinct creole language and as a dialect of Cree. Whatever its classification, it is the language of people on a reservation that is legally Chippewa, whose speakers have moved away from both Cree and Chippewa languages in speech and song. Indeed, J.C. Crawford (1985:233) writes that in Michif, "the noun phrase is a French domain; verb structure is clearly and thoroughly Cree, and syntax is Cree with French and probably English influence. Minor word classes seem to split, some words being French and some Cree."

In Métis music and dance, too, there was an exchange between French and American Indians: the Indian drum was discarded, and music was provided by "the fiddle, sometimes a genuine one but more frequently one made from a hollow piece of wood with cat-gut strings attached. The tunes were generally adaptations of old French folk songs while the dance itself was a lively number which in time became known as the Red River jig" (Dusenberry 1985:121). To French speakers, the songs are recognizable as French, some referring to historical events that took place in the homeland of their French ancestors, such as the lyrics of the song "Napoléon Bonaparte":

En baissant les pavillons est mort Na-
poléon.
Napoléon n'existerait plus.
Nous parlerons de son histoire.

"Je suis fort, fort bien entouré.
Adieu Français. Adieu la France. C'est
pour toujours.
Tous les regrets j'ai dans ce monde c'est
ma femme et mon cher enfant.
Adieu Français. Adieu la France. C'est
pour toujours."

The flags are being lowered, Napoleon
has died.
He no longer lives.
We will tell of his story.
"I am surrounded from all sides.
Adieu Frenchmen. Adieu France. Forever
Adieu.
Of all I miss in this world, it is especially
my wife and my dear child.
Adieu Frenchmen. Adieu France. Forever
adieu."
(*Turtle Mountain Music*, 1984)

Music in the New World

Mariners who came from France to exploit the fishing banks along the Acadian coasts accompanied their sailing and fishing efforts with work songs. The composition of fishing crews changed over the years, with seasonal crews recruited from the farm-land interior in addition to year-round mariners. There is nevertheless a certain unity in the musical repertoire these crews brought to the shores of the New World. Musical instruments also accompanied sailors on their journeys, as attested by Admiral Thévenard in 1776: "One of the concerns that good seamen know the importance of is the entertainment provided to crews during long journeys and periods without wind" (cited in *Chants de marins traditionnels des côtes de France* 1984). Horns and trumpets, bagpipes, hurdy-gurdies and musettes all found their way onto sailing and fishing vessels.

Even though the first settlers in the New World shared the same traditions, language and religion, the priorities of their new life, the agricultural cycle, and the manner in which celebrations were observed moved their musical cultures in a direction different from that of the mariners. The small, self-sufficient farms of the colonists under the strong influence of the Church resulted in a culture distinct from that of France. "The



The parents of these children were prohibited from speaking French in public schools, but today's generation benefits from a cultural revival that encourages traditions such as this children's Mardi Gras parade in Eunice, Louisiana. (Photo by Winnie Lambrecht)

Church always directed and molded the acts and the thoughts of colonists, who, cut from their roots, had nothing in their new land to feed the beliefs and practices that had sustained them in their place of origin," according to Desdouits (1986:30). The Church undoubtedly modified the nature of the dance and music traditions that survived or developed in Quebec and Acadia. Dance was viewed as frivolous if not sinful activity.

This state of affairs prevailed in France as well, where dance and music on Sunday and holy days were vociferously condemned, as an extract from a 1710 document from Plouaret indicates:

Nous avons condamné Gillette Kerguentel femme de Yves Le Sohier à 3 livres d'aumosne au profit de la fabrice de l'église de Plouaret pour avoir fait sonner et danser à jour de dimanche et Gilles Salic aussi à trois livres d'aumosne pour avoir fait sonné le même jour, avec

défense de les recevoir à la participation des sacrements jusques à y avoir satisfait.

We have condemned Gillette Kerguentel, wife of Yves Le Sohier, to a three pound contribution to the maintenance of the church of Plouaret because of her incitement to music and dance on a Sunday, and Gilles Salic also to a three pound charitable contribution for playing on that same day; it is forbidden to them to partake of the sacraments until they fulfill this obligation. (Bécam 1989:9)

In France, Church influence was lessened by the existence of other institutions and larger communities. There were, however, other reasons for the musics of the two continents to diverge. Musical traditions and repertoires transported from France were reshaped by contact with other cultures. Musical instrument making was not a priority in the colonies. Growing crops in a new



Hurdy-gurdy players Jean Gauçon and Joseph Quintin at home in Languedoc, Brittany. The hurdy-gurdy was popular in Western France when the French first migrated to North America, but it never established itself in the New World. (Photo by Winnie Lambrecht)

environment, conflicts with some American Indian groups and English settlers, and the lack of skilled artisans to provide adequate tools all reduced the opportunity for making musical instruments. Also, some of the instruments that were popular in France were not made for life in a colonial setting, such as the hurdy-gurdy (which seems to be making a comeback in Quebec, mostly with revivalist musicians).

Although the original French immigrants to the New World had brought with them few musical instruments, the Acadians were lovers of music and of dance. Where musical instruments were not available (or were forbidden, such as during Lent) dances were accompanied by voices, hand-clapping and foot-stamping. The musical traditions of western France (hometown to most of the Acadians) included brass and reed instruments, as well as trumpets and the *vielle à roue* (hurdy-gurdy). Given the priorities of colonial life and limitations in instrument

manufacture, the immigrants made do with new instruments borrowed from other peoples. Many of the tunes that the French immigrants brought with them were easily transposed to violins, which were more readily available. French settlers in Acadia incorporated Scots-Irish reels, jigs and hornpipes into their musical repertoires, and danced schottisches, mazurkas and contredanses.

Today these traditions continue and develop in Quebec and New England. New England communities such as Waltham, Massachusetts, have large populations of Acadian and Québécois descent with many formidable musicians, especially fiddlers and singers. In Quebec couple dances other than the waltz are now less visible, but contredanses, quadrilles, cotillons, *rondes* and *set carrés* (square dances) are popular in many communities. An unbroken community dance tradition thrives in places such as l'Île d'Orléans and the Saguenay—Lac-St-



Gilbert Hervieux, luthier, working at the Hervieux & Glet workshop in Le Val, Rieux. (Photo by Winnie Lambrecht)

Jean area; other social events have sprung up recently, such as those held regularly in Montreal. *Veillées* (musical evenings) are as likely to take place in community halls as in private homes, and frequent day-long *galas* showcase the talents of regional musicians. During Christmas and on New Year's Day families and friends gather for song and celebration; for *La Fête de St-Jean-Baptiste* in June, people throughout the province gather for parades, bonfires and concerts of traditional music in a celebration that today is more nationalistic than religious.

For French speakers in Quebec and, indeed, in every Canadian province, the question of language has long been inseparable from issues of identity and access to power and self-determination. A 1980 referendum to take steps toward provincial secession from Canada was rejected; still, many Québécois are adamant in demanding the right to use French in their daily lives without sacrificing political and economic equality with English speakers. In recent years increasing exposure to English-language media, economic pressures to assimilate to

the Anglophone world that surrounds them, an influx of immigrants who want their children's second language to be English instead of French, and the steadily dropping birth rate among Québécois of French ancestry cause consternation among those who fear that their language and culture will disappear.

In Louisiana, toward the end of the 19th century, resettled Acadians adopted the diatonic accordion that had been imported by German immigrants, and incorporated a number of fiddle tunes, ballads, square dances and hoedowns from the increasing number of Anglo-Americans to their north. The repertoire of songs and instrumental music in Louisiana was further influenced by Black musical traditions. Afro-French Creoles in Louisiana developed their own musical style called "zydeco" by modifying Cajun tonality and adding improvisation and Afro-Caribbean rhythm patterns. This tradition is particularly strong today in the musical performances of people such as Canray Fontenot, "Bois Sec" Ardoine, John Delafosse, The Lawtell Playboys, Nathan Williams and the Zydeco Cha Chas, and others playing regularly in clubs in southern Louisiana.

The continuity, isolation, creolization and—in some cases—end of musical traditions are indicators of the struggle for ethnic, economic and cultural survival of French-speaking peoples and those with whom they came into contact over the last four centuries. Indeed, in Louisiana until quite recently, children were chastised for speaking French in public schools. Recognizing the persistence and importance of traditional culture and speech, the Committee for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) was created in 1968. French, which had until then been an oral tradition, was offered in public schools and Cajun children have become literate in French.

As with other French-speaking communities in North America, an identifiably French musical repertoire was sustained in Louisiana, along with foodways and material culture that mark the state as a homeland to settlers of the French "diaspora." Today, revitalization of traditional music and recognition for continuing and transformed tradi-

tions comment aesthetically on the cultural health of French-speaking communities from Quebec and New England to North Dakota, Louisiana and Missouri.

Regional Culture in France

In the French areas that provided the North American continent with many of its immigrants, regionalism is perhaps as strong as it was at the time of the French Revolution. This cultural distinctiveness is most marked in Brittany, a region divided in half linguistically, one half speaking Breton (a Celtic language related to Welsh) and the other half classified as Gallo and speaking French. In the western part of Brittany (Basse-Bretagne) people take pride in speaking Breton, and one often hears parents addressing their children in that language, even though the official school language is French. In 1982 the Ministry of National Education, under parental pressure, opened the first bilingual classes in kindergarten and primary schools in Brittany. Six years later, bilingual education is available in five of the six counties in Brittany. Teachers in these bilingual classes had to be self-taught, and there is strong pressure today to make a higher degree available for the purpose of teaching in bilingual classes. It is interesting to note parallels with Louisiana and Quebec.

In Brittany, there is a distinct Breton song repertoire, although a number of musicians sing in both Breton and French and draw from both traditions. What might these Bretons and Gallos have in common with the *petits habitants*, the small farmers exiled from Acadia who became the Cajuns of Louisiana? Given the centuries of separation and the complexities of the history of each region, one might speculate there is little connection. But a well-known traditional song in the repertoire of Breton musicians Jean Gauçon and Joseph Quitin is "Trois gars partis pour l'Amérique" ("Three guys who left for America"). It was thus not only for the emigrants that America became a theme in folklore, but also for those who were left behind.

In addition to Basse-Bretagne and Haute-Bretagne, Normandy and Poitou were also

home to the ancestors of present-day Francophone populations in North America. Each of these areas has distinct musical and dance traditions, and a regional speech pattern. Though bagpipes are found throughout France, the *veuze* is specific to the Marais-Vendéen, whereas the *binou* is prevalent in Brittany. Normans prefer to accompany wedding processions with the fiddle, while in central Brittany the clarinet is a favorite. The accordion has replaced older instruments almost everywhere. In the Sarthe region, the accordion provides the accompaniment for the *pas d'été*, a dance form introduced in western France by retired military masters and their apprentices. The variety of music in France is infinite; a distance of a few hundred kilometers may separate considerably different cultural styles with distinct musical repertoires.

What all the areas presented at the Festival share is a renewed interest in traditional repertoires. In some instances, younger performers and craftspeople are direct heirs to an unbroken tradition. Raised in a particular region and conscious of the importance and beauty of the traditions borne by their families, they acquire the skills of their forefathers. Such is the case, for instance, for Jean Gauçon of Brittany, Dewey Balfa of Louisiana, and Dominique and Paul-Emile Lavallée of Quebec. Others, having become conscious of the importance of their region's heritage, deliberately decide to carry on the tradition even though it may not have been present in their family. In some instances, the tradition has been interrupted briefly: for example, though Thierry Bertrand is from a woodworking family, and his musical instrument making is thus in keeping with the family skills, his construction of the Breton *veuze* (bagpipe) is a deliberate attempt to bring back an instrument that had all but disappeared. Other performers and craftspeople are more clearly "revivalists"; attracted by older traditions from their area or from other areas, they consciously decide to recreate these traditions whether or not their own ancestors subscribed to those traditions. Though folklorists tend to be less interested in revivalists than in other performers, revivalists have proven to be crucial

in the maintenance of certain traditions and their associated knowledge. Revivalists from the area whose traditions they represent often interview older people to inform themselves about these traditions, conducting research and collecting information that might otherwise be lost. Such is the case of Yves Guillard from the Sarthe region of Normandy and the character dances that he has choreographed under the supervision of musicians and old masters who saw them being performed during their youth.

What animates both the perpetuation of traditional forms and their revival is the desire of tradition bearers, individuals or communities, to assert their distinct identity, to fight against homogenization, to maintain the right vested in all human beings to express themselves in the manner that their ancestors bequeathed to them. In those areas where the dominant society attempted to enforce cultural assimilation, as in Acadia, Quebec, Louisiana and Brittany, determination to maintain the right of self-expression makes itself felt most strongly and results in the perpetuation of traditional forms—language and music—that serve as carriers of communal identity.

As we consider and celebrate the continuity and creolization, survival and revival of French traditions in the Old and New Worlds, it is useful to recall that The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen can be considered a statement about cultural conservation—the right to sing your own song, tell your own story, enact your own ritual or festival. Language, music and verbal artistry are instruments and indicators of cultural survival. Join us as Poitevins, Cajuns, Creoles, Houmas, Bretons, Québécois, Vendéens, New Englanders, Michifs, Normans and Missourians sing, perform, dance, think and speak in French during this bicentennial year of the French Revolution.

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Criollización en el Caribe

El Festival de Culturas Tradicionales Americanas ("Festival of American Folklife") de este año incluye un pequeño pero significativo programa sobre el Caribe. En este Vigésimo Tercer Festival los artistas tradicionales representan—a través de sus cantos, danzas, toques y arte culinario—los procesos de interacción entre las culturas nativas, africanas, europeas e inclusive asiáticas que por diversos motivos ocurrieron en el Caribe.

Partiendo de una perspectiva histórica y cultural, habría que ver el Caribe como un conjunto de escenarios diferentes que comparten elementos comunes. El Caribe fue la puerta al "nuevo mundo" y constituyó el trampolín desde el cual los españoles organizaron la invasión del continente, la conquista de los pueblos que lo habitaban y la colonización posterior. Durante el siglo XVI el Caribe mantuvo el carácter de puente entre España y los Virreinos de Tierra Firme, y entre éstos y la Metrópoli. En algunas zonas caribeñas esa situación perduró más allá del siglo XVI. En la medida en que otras naciones europeas—especialmente Inglaterra, Francia y Holanda—lograron disputarle con éxito a España secciones del Caribe y establecieron en ellas economías de plantación, en específico la de caña de azúcar, el Caribe adquirió relevancia económica y se convirtió en un crisol de culturas.

En esa interacción se fue produciendo, con ciertas particularidades en cada contexto y de acuerdo a los orígenes de las culturas que se encontraron, un proceso de criollización; es decir, de una nueva y propia forma de expresión.

La música ritual y social del Caribe de hoy ilustra su proceso histórico y la vigencia actual de la síntesis cultural, la asimilación y la creatividad. Entre las tradiciones musicales que retienen elementos rituales importantes se pueden incluir el *kumina*, el *kromanti play* y los cantos y toques *nyabingi* de Jamaica; la música del culto de santería, y el abakuá de Cuba; y el vodú de Haití. En las muestras de tradiciones musicales como la plena de Puerto Rico y el son cubano, se aprecian no sólo los elementos musicales de origen africano que persisten en la música social, sino también el importante papel que han venido desempeñando en el contexto caribeño los géneros

y elementos musicales de tradición europea. Sin embargo, la importancia no recae tanto en la identificación de orígenes como en el hecho de que existe una síntesis de elementos que ha ocasionado la creación de géneros musicales propios.

La recomposición que hicieron los africanos traídos al Caribe de los cultos religiosos les sirvió como mecanismo de resistencia a la dominación europea, y de identificación étnica. Algunas de las religiones permanecieron íntimamente ligadas a los modelos de los antepasados, aunque incorporando elementos cristianos. Este hecho es apreciable en los panteones, los ritos y la organización sacerdotal actuales. Otros cultos religiosos como el vodú de Haití han evolucionado hasta constituir, más que una religión con fuerte arraigo africano, una religión nacional.

La esclavitud obligó al africano a separar su religión de su entorno natural para inscribirla en un mundo desconocido, regido por un calendario distinto—el de los amos blancos, y lo impulsó a realizar adaptaciones forzadas. Así, por ejemplo, tuvo que ajustar sus expresiones rituales a la cronología religiosa europea, enmascarando contenidos africanos en formas cristianas.

La convergencia de culturas en el Caribe afectó y transformó los hábitos alimenticios. Las frutas tropicales, la yuca, el maíz y la calabaza rememoran la contribución silenciosa que hicieron los pueblos indígenas. Las esclavas africanas que sirvieron como cocineras enriquecieron las recetas europeas con sazones y procesos nuevos para hacer emerger una cocina criolla a través del intercambio, el préstamo y la creatividad.

No sólo la música, las religiones y las comidas fueron objeto de criollización en el Caribe, es decir, de adaptación al medio ambiente, asimilación y transformación de elementos en el proceso de creación de una cultura propia; también el lenguaje, la literatura, el teatro, la danza, la pintura, las artesanías, entre otras cosas, experimentaron procesos similares con particularidades en cada caso. Lo cierto es que estas manifestaciones constituyen resultados de re-edición y creación que han llegado a marcar profundamente las culturas del Caribe.

Creolization in the Caribbean

Heliana Portes de Roux

For most Americans the Caribbean evokes an image of sunny, fine sand beaches lapped by crystalline waters. For many, it is a synonym for tropical music and fun, rest and relaxation, vacations and tourism. This stereotype, however, is a commercially motivated image that distorts the rich diversity of Caribbean cultures. The region encompasses a wealth of cultures that have evolved over centuries of complex, turbulent, and profound interactions—within a limited geographical area—among the indigenous peoples of the area, Europeans from several countries, peoples from West Africa, and in some cases, indentured servants from India and East Asia.

The Caribbean program at the Festival of American Folklife is but one of many ways to present Caribbean cultural traditions. The program traces the creative integration and synthesis of new cultural traditions from elements of diverse origin that had been juxtaposed or had previously coexisted independently. The music and ritual performances and foodways demonstrations do not merely trace the static persistence of indigenous, African, or European culture traits in the Caribbean, but instead illustrate their transmutation into a fresh cultural amalgam that forms the base of emergent identity. This emergence occurs not only in the Caribbean but also in the mainland United States, whose eastern cities have become havens for disinherited peoples of the Caribbean. The United States is no longer a mere

spectator or manipulator of distant Caribbean transformations, but also an arena for ongoing cultural innovation.

The program brings together folk musicians, ritual practitioners, folk performers, and cooks from the islands of the Antilles to demonstrate the interactions between native, European, African and even Asian cultures that have resulted in the creation of new cultural forms. In the Caribbean region people of diverse ethnicity live side by side. Though they do not indiscriminately share a uniform common culture, their lifeways crisscross and intermingle. If one is interested in origins, single elements of belief and practices can be teased out, but in most cases they cannot easily be attributed to any single place or time.

A visitor to the Caribbean program at the Festival might wish to listen to Puerto Ricans singing *décimas*, witness a Haitian Vodoun ceremony or learn how to make *bammies* from cassava, a root indigenous to the New World. Many can recognize the European instruments played by the *son* musicians; most can trace the Vodoun ceremony to an African past. Perhaps some visitors will recognize the Arawak indigenous presence as they observe the cassava cook. The Festival program only begins to trace some of the cultural traditions at the root of complex, unique and dynamic Caribbean expressions.

The Caribbean region is one of the most diverse and heterogeneous in the world. Such are its complexities that there is no



Maroon *abeng* player from Moore Town, Jamaica. This wind instrument was used during the 18th century war against the British and has retained sacred meaning to this day. (Photo by Heliana Portes de Roux)

consensus even on its geographic definition; this controversy is not necessarily esoteric. The broadest prevailing geographic definition of the Caribbean is that given in the *Atlas of the Caribbean Basin* (1984), which defines the Caribbean to include "the islands of the Caribbean Sea as well as the countries on its shores." This definition includes 30 countries and a total population of nearly 100 million people since it encompasses the United States, Mexico, the five Central American republics, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Belize, Guyana, Surinam and French Guiana. A narrower definition of the Caribbean includes only the 13 independent former British colonies of the West Indies, whose total population is slightly over 6 million. Between an overly broad Caribbean

Basin definition and an overly narrow West Indies definition there are other alternatives. One uses the concept of the Caribbean archipelago, which stretches from the Bahama Islands at the north to Trinidad and Tobago. In another view the Caribbean is thought to be constituted by the islands of the Antilles chain and by Surinam, Guyana, French Guiana and Belize. Common to all of these places was a plantation economy sustained by the labor of slaves of African origin. We must not forget, however, that the social history of the Caribbean region shares much both with the South American mainland societies stretching from Brazil northward and with the Gulf Coast and Atlantic seaboard of the United States.

The Caribbean is not only a geographical

Santería

Enslaved Yoruba from southwestern Nigeria, brought to Cuba in great numbers between 1790 and 1865, carried with them numerous powerful divinities called *orisha*. In Cuba the Yoruba were called the Lucumí, and their worship of the *orichas* (Spanish spelling) came to be known as La Regla Lucumí, La Regla de Ocha, or Santería. Santería appeared in Cuba not as a static survival or retention of African practices but as a dynamic Afro-Caribbean religion shaped by the needs of creole communities that emerged and changed in slavery and freedom. At first Santería was the exclusive religion of colonial Cuba's Lucumí "nation" (ethnic Yoruba and their early direct descendants), but it evolved as a spiritual path available to all Cubans in the 20th century. Santería also flourishes in Puerto Rico, Miami, New York, New Jersey, Illinois, and California, in communities of Cuban migrants. Its adherents now include White and Black Americans and other immigrants from the Caribbean.

In the 19th century the emerging creole religion creatively borrowed or remade Catholic elements, icons, ritual, and mythology within an Afro-Cuban ethical context. As Santería grew up inside the larger society, the Lucumí *orichas* came to be celebrated on the feast days of their Catholic saint counterparts—a creative use of the Church calendar as an armature to reconstitute the sacred festival cycle. Spanish military attire and courtly costumes and crowns, which had earlier entered Afro-Cuban carnival processions, appeared in the sacred Lucumí initiation process called the coronation. Saints' images, votive candles, and flowers appeared on altars alongside Yoruba-derived beadwork and sacrificial offerings. Ornate porcelain soup tureens came to contain the *orichas'* sacred objects—stones and cowrie shells embodying the *orichas'* power (*aché*). Layers of European-derived materials adorn and guard a secret, essentially African, sacred core.

The *orichas* are understood as so many refractions of a distant, incomprehensible Supreme Being or Creator. Each *oricha* is



Domestic shrine for *orichas* and saints with offerings, Guanabacoa, Havana, Cuba, 1986. Saints' images traditionally stand above the porcelain *soperas* (tureens) containing the deities' "secrets." (Photo by David Brown)

seen to own or control a domain of nature and human experience; is distinguished by legends, attributes, colors, and favored foods; and is praised with distinct drum rhythms and chants in the Lucumí ritual language. Santería's principal ritual goal is the effective tapping and channeling of the *orichas'* power for the health and benefit of the community, within a moral context sanctioned by the ancestors (*egun*). This task belongs to corps of specially initiated and trained priests or *santeros* who, as mediators of ritual power, discern the *orichas'* will through sophisticated divination systems and solicit the *orichas'* aid with proper tribute and sacrifice (*ebó*). As the *orichas'* servants, they act as "mounts" or "horses"—mediums of spirit possession—when the gods come down in the heat of drumming celebrations to dance, eat, and prophesy.

Santería ritual practice centers in the "house of Ocha," which refers to both the place where a shrine is maintained and the ritual family of Santería worshippers—a circle of "godchildren" initiated by an elder "godparent." The ritual family provides mutual support to its members; godchildren owe respect to their ritual elders and are obliged to assist in house rituals such as drummings and initiations. In their homes initiated priests establish altars for their ancestors and *orichas* and conduct consultations and spiritual cleansings.

David Brown

unit: it is a region with a common history rooted in the interplay of European powers in their efforts to gain political and economic control over land, sea lanes, people and potential resources. In the Caribbean many complex relationships developed because of this historical experience. The Caribbean was the first gateway to the New World, from which Spaniards organized their invasion of the American mainland and conquest of its native peoples. Throughout the colonial period it was the bridge between Spain and its new viceroyalties on the mainland. As England, France and Holland successfully challenged Spanish domination of parts of the Caribbean, new plantation systems were established, especially for growing sugar cane. The region, already significant in political terms, became important economically as well.

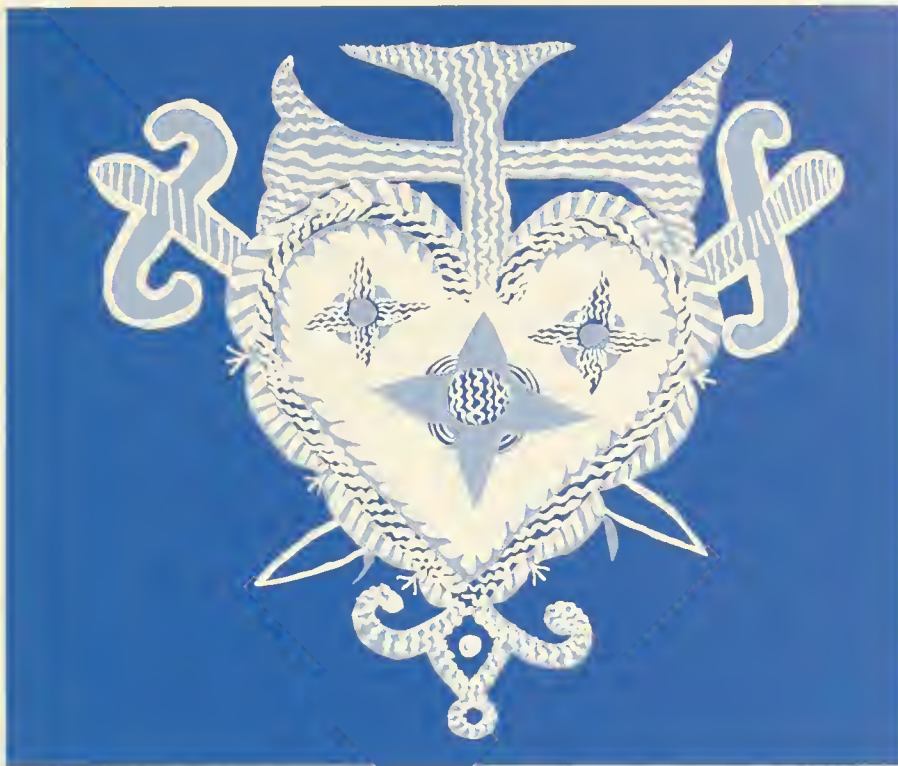
The history of the Caribbean is the expression of unique circumstances in each particular island nation and also the expression of a number of elements common to all. The region is considered by anthropologist Sidney Mintz as a "societal area" precisely because it shares social structural and economic characteristics, common historical patterns of conquest and expansion of Europe, patterns of colonization, peonage or slavery, development of a plantation economy and development of multiracial and multicultural societies. Although in broad outline these processes were common to all, each Caribbean society is unique, and generalizing about the entire area does not address adequately the distinctive characteristics of each.

The interactions that occurred in the Caribbean initiated a process of creolization that acquired unique characteristics within each context, depending on the cultures that came into contact. New systems of communication, new melodies and rhythms, and new forms of religious expression were born. The distinctiveness of this process in the Caribbean region stemmed from two significant factors: 1) the determining role of the creative expressions of Africans, and 2) the progressive "conquest," from bottom to top, of social, legal, and political domains by the subject classes. The latter often involved

African slaves' and their descendants' creative use and transformation of European cultural institutions, products and patterns (and, to a lesser extent, those of Asian and Native American origin). Creolization—a process to which people of African heritage contributed greatly—was a fundamental factor in determining the basic fabric of each Caribbean society.

The term "creole" was used from the 16th to 18th centuries to denote people born in Spanish America of Spanish parents, distinguishing them from those born in Spain itself. It has since been used with various—often conflicting—meanings. In the Spanish colonies, Creoles were generally excluded from high office in both church and state, although by law Spaniards and Creoles were equal. Creoles led the revolutions that achieved independence from Spain in the early 19th century, and after independence, they entered the ruling class. In various parts of Latin America the term "creole" has different referents: it may denote any local-born person of Spanish descent, or it may refer to members of urban Europeanized classes, as contrasted with rural indigenous peoples. In the Antilles, the word was used to denote descendants of any European settlers, but now it refers more generally to all the people, of whatever class or ancestry, who share in the Caribbean culture.

By extension, "creole" came to refer not just to people but also to languages and to cultures that were born in the New World; "creolization" refers to the process by which a new synthetic language or culture develops. In the Caribbean people from diverse backgrounds, cut off from their homelands, made a virtue of necessity by synthesizing disparate elements of their past and present environments to produce a new cultural manifestation, a creole culture. The process of creolization is not a uniform and monolithic one that follows the same course everywhere and produces the same results. Instead, creolization takes in a wide range of cultural transformations and amalgamations, each specific to a local area and a particular historical situation. Because the Caribbean program at this year's Festival of American Folklife focuses on traditions from Puerto



Maize-flour drawing, or *vèvè*, for the Haitian *loa* Erzulie. (Illustration by Andras Goldinger)

Rico, Jamaica, Haiti and Cuba, the following considerations of creolization will concentrate on how that process has occurred in those countries.

The Creolization of Language

The Caribbean area is marked by the emergence of characteristic language forms distinct from the indigenous languages, from African languages, and from the languages of the colonizing European countries. This development began in the most oppressed sector of society: African slaves and their descendants, who spoke a number of distinct languages. They needed a common language to speak to one another, and their European masters (who also spoke various languages) needed to communicate with them. Pidgin languages arose, with simplified grammars and greatly attenuated vocabularies, suitable for basic communication despite being artificial constructions. These pidgins were second languages for everyone who spoke them. As generations passed and the pidgin languages were used more extensively, they re-incorporated vocabulary from the parent languages and developed complex grammars. Now used in all

spheres of life, they became mother tongues or first languages, completing their transformation to creole languages.

During the period in which creole languages began to develop in Caribbean societies—after the swift extirpation of native populations—there were sharp differences between African slaves and their descendants and free Europeans who assumed themselves to be racially and culturally superior. The creole languages were associated with slavery and to make matters more complex, the national elites began to regard themselves with the eyes of their metropolitan cohorts, turning their back on the emerging languages, customs, and beliefs as if they were stained. Creole languages were thought to be negative cultural and ethnic expressions and considered as primitive and malformed languages.

The creolization of language did not occur homogeneously throughout the Caribbean. Creolization was determined by a variety of factors depending on the specific history of each area. In Hispanic colonies such as Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico, Spanish became the standard language because these colonies were always linked



The Vodoun altar at Madame Nerva's *boutinfor* in Jacmel, Haiti, incorporates chromolithographs of Catholic deities. (Photo by Heliana Portes de Roux)

to the same metropole. The nature of the colonial enterprise was also different: as R.W. Thompson (1957:353) explains, "a more serious effort was made by the Spaniards and Portuguese to plant their New World territories with peasants of European stock. As a result, their subjects of African descent did not greatly overwhelm in numbers those who spoke a European language in conformity with native usage." However, ritual languages of African origin such as Lucumí were conserved in Cuba and elsewhere, and Spanish became imbued with intonations and variations, idioms and inflections, variations of pronunciation and style, as well as new local terms.

The situation was different in other areas with different patterns of colonial domination, including the introduction of indentured servants, prisoners of war, and criminals who were forced to emigrate from their countries of origin to become part of the

plantation's social milieu. These immigrants came into contact with slaves who had arrived earlier from various African nations who worked as domestic servants, skilled craftsmen, and field laborers. This variety of backgrounds in the Caribbean is responsible for the birth of new language forms in various settings. As linguist Mervin Alleyne (1985) explains, in Guyana, Antigua, Montserrat, Jamaica, and St. Kitts, different levels of language evolved, ranging from a creole speech or patois to intermediate forms of standard English. In Haiti and the French West Indies, a French based creole came to be spoken by a majority of the inhabitants. The creole of Surinam drew its vocabulary primarily from English during the initial period of colonization, and was later influenced by Dutch, eventually developing into dialects such as Saramaccan and Sranan. Conditions on Barbados favored a close approximation to English; thus Bajan, one of the Barbadian creoles, is quite similar to English. In Trinidad a dialect derived primarily from English, a French-based creole and a non-standard Spanish evolved. Papiamentu in the three Dutch islands of Curaçao, Aruba and Bonaire blends Spanish and Portuguese language elements.

Some creole languages, though developed by subjugated peoples, have gradually begun to win for themselves social and even legal acceptance in the societies in which they arose. Of course, the European colonists not only controlled the economy but also imposed their own forms of cultural colonialism. Europeans considered all the cultures with which they came into contact in the New World—the indigenous, African, and Asian cultures—to be uncivilized. Since creole society primarily grew out of enslaved groups, it was associated by the European colonists with backwardness and lack of education. Thus, the status creole languages gained in the Caribbean society was opposed to the European ideal that the elites inherited.

Creole was designated the official language (along with French) in Haiti; and in Martinique it was approved for elementary school education in areas where it is the main language. In addition to such "official"



Arada or Vodoun drums with painted *vêvê*s. Note the variety of artistic carvings in the base of these Dahomey-style drums. (Photo by Heliana Portes de Roux)



Master drummer of Madame Nerva's *bounfor* plays the *manman* or *bountor* drum, the largest of the ensemble, using one bare hand and one stick. (Photo by Heliana Portes de Roux)

Jah Music: Rhythms of the Rastafari

The Rastafari are among the most African-oriented members of Jamaican society, but they are also among its most creative synthesizers. This is illustrated by Rastafari music, both in its "roots" form, Nyabingi, and its popular form, reggae. Reggae is linked with the internationalization of the Rastafari Movement from the late 1960s onward and shows ongoing fusions of local folk music with popular strains from abroad. Nyabingi, by contrast, is more esoteric—a drum music central for some four decades to the worship of Jah, the Rastafari creator. Both reflect widespread borrowings and cross-overs of musical forms.

Early Rasta music was largely European in form, reflecting cultural links shared with Afro-Christian revivalism. Songs from the Sankey hymnal and the Book of Common Prayer were adapted to Rasta needs and sung at street meetings to a rhythmic accompaniment of rhumba boxes, maracas, graters and scrapers. By the mid-1940s an emergent style of drumming became increasingly important to Rasta ceremonies in the camps and yards of West Kingston. This drumming style, Nyabingi, reflected the fusion of *buru* and *kumina*, two African-derived recreational musical styles. Early Rasta master drummers adapted the three-part *buru* ensemble (bass, funde, repeater) to suit their individual styles and needs. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Nyabingi music continued to be influenced by the folk musical experience of the Rastas. These influences grew out of the rural-urban connections of brethren who moved freely between country areas and the urban camps of Trench Town, Back O' Wall, and the Dungle, as well as rural migrants who joined the ranks of the Rastafari Movement.

Since the late 1960s island-wide Nyabingi ceremonies have increasingly been

held in rural areas. At these religious celebrations brethren and sistren gather in thatched tabernacles to "praise Jah and chant down Babylon." Typically, drumming and spiritual dancing take place throughout the night, punctuated by formal speechifying by leading orators. Elders recognized for their ritual knowledge officiate the week-long celebrations. As the Nyabingi traditions gained visibility in rural areas, younger members of the island's Maroon and Kumina groups have come to identify with the Rasta Movement without abandoning their own cultural expressions. Their involvement with multiple traditions will no doubt make itself felt in the further cross-fertilization of musical styles.

Reggae is a complex musical fusion that developed in the late 1960s from a combination of popular Jamaican styles (ska and rock-steady) and American rhythm and blues, with influences from other island folk traditions. Although reggae overlaps more with Jamaican popular music than does Nyabingi, they share an emphasis on African self-determination. Disaffected and radicalized youth (including Bob Marley) who entered the Movement during the political turmoil of the 1960s straddled the folk and popular musical spheres and gave reggae its cutting political edge. The "conscious" lyrics of many reggae compositions address the social and political circumstances of the masses in Jamaica and elsewhere, and popularized Rastafari throughout the world. Today reggae can be heard in metropolitan Black communities in the Caribbean, North America, Europe and Africa. Influenced both by local folk forms and Afro-American rhythm and blues, reggae is now a vehicle for political commentary as well as an artistic form.

John P. Homiak

recognition, Haitian Creole has gained in status as an expression of traditional culture; it is valued by nationalist movements in an effort to reaffirm their cultural identity as separate from French culture. Papiamentu is spoken regularly in the Dutch Antilles during the course of many daily activities and although English is the official language of Jamaica, local movements supporting the Creole dialect have developed.

The Creolization of Religion

Enslaved Africans in the Caribbean restructured their ancestral religions in ways that reaffirmed their ethnic identity or served as vehicles for resistance to European domination, while simultaneously satisfying their spiritual needs. Some of these religions, such as those of Yoruba origin (which found in Cuban Santería and in the Shangó of Trinidad their most important expressions in the Caribbean) have drawn essential content from their African ancestry. This is evident in their rites and pantheons as well as in their priestly organization. In Haiti, where there was practically no White population after the early 19th century, Vodoun evolved to constitute not only an African religion, but also a national one.

Slavery cut off religion from its former place in African social and political structures and forced Africans to separate it from its original environs to fit it into an unknown world governed by a different logic—that of European masters. Thus, for example, they had to adapt their own religious expressions to a European religious chronology, sometimes shrouding African content in Christian forms. The identification of African deities and Catholic saints evolved in part from the slaves' need to disguise their ceremonies. This process yielded a number of different collective representations. Thus, myths of deities such as Omolú could be related to parables of the Scriptures such as that of the Prodigal Son; popular Christian legends could be linked to the *orishas* (deities) of Santería; and Biblical allegories could contribute, as they did in Haiti, to a new mythology that replaced the African mythology.

Vodoun, the religion of the Haitian people, is a good example of how a new

form of religious expression evolved from French-influenced Catholicism together with a diversity of West African religious traditions. Michael Laguerre (1980) refers to it as a folk religion that developed as a result of the incorporation of West African slaves into colonial Haitian plantation society. He explains how Vodoun developed from household-based ritual into an extended family-based ritual that after independence in 1801 became and has remained the main religion in the island. Vodoun is part of Haitian creole culture and represents the very particular way in which African and Christian religious elements came together to form a belief system that permeates almost every aspect of Haitian life.

Vodoun—the word itself is Dahomean in origin and signifies “spirit” or “deity”—is applied to all the activities of religious life, from the ritual of the temple to the songs and dances. The Vodoun practiced in Haiti consists of rites, beliefs, and activities of a number of religions such as the Congo-Guinée, the Ibo-Kanga and others. These become integrated in Haitian practice; according to Harold Courlander (1960) this integration demonstrates how Haitian Vodoun draws from the common inheritance of all these African faiths.

Nevertheless, whatever the content of the beliefs brought by the slaves from Africa might have been, when practiced in the New World, they were influenced by external factors: the laborers' daily activities in the plantation, the intermingling among people from various backgrounds, a new language for communication, new types of housing, new diet, new patterns of social organization and political power, and a new calendar of events that reflected Catholic feasts and the colonizers' national holidays. All these variables, added to the synthesis of African sacred beliefs, made for the emergence of a Haitian belief system.

The songs, essential to the Vodoun ritual, reveal the creolization process. Sung primarily in Haitian creole, some contain words from African languages and some are simply borrowed from the Catholic church. This is not surprising, for many Vodoun practitioners are baptized and attend Mass in the Catholic



Playing the small *rumba* box or *quinto*, a drum-substitute which has been traditionalized as part of the Afro-Cuban percussive repertoire. (Photo by David Brown)

Church. The following portion of the litany *Djo* (prayer from Guinea) in Haitian creole, collected in Port-au-Prince, is important in showing how Roman Catholic and West African traditions come together in Vodoun:

Lang di seniè di ta Marie
Kèl consévoa an Jézi Kri
Lètènitè la choazi li
Il a konsi di Sintespri.

An angel of the Lord said to Mary
That she will give birth to Jesus
She has been chosen since the beginning
of the world
She will give birth by the operation of the
Holy Spirit. [Laguerre 1980:155-156]

In the Caribbean, then, there exists a sort of pendular movement in which African elements were introduced into Christian practice, while Christian elements were absorbed

and reinterpreted in African terms. These elements are not just fused together, they are incorporated in the creative process of forming a new religious system with new meaning.

In the Protestant Caribbean this syncretism took on different forms. Biblical texts were imposed upon slaves to encourage passivity and acceptance (such as the narrative of the submission of the Israelites to Egypt and the captivity in Babylon). Messianism, the expectation of a deliverer or savior, was a concept that Blacks adopted to serve their own needs. Another example is found in the reinterpretation of African trance, as occurred in many of the "Revival" religious sects in Jamaica. In the same country, churches such as the Jamaica Free Church lean towards Prophetism; in the Bongo faith, syncretic rites are celebrated in which Protestant chants and prayers take place while animals are sacrificed. These expressions often have a strong messianic sense, as does the Rastafarian movement, although the latter carries not only religious but also strongly political meaning.

Music: Ritual and Social

Underlying the diversity of musical forms and styles in the Caribbean, as Kenneth Bilby (1985) has pointed out, are certain basic unifying characteristics. Caribbean musics, like the creole languages spoken in the region, reflect the region's historic development. The coming together of traditions from Europe, Africa, India, and China in the contexts of New World plantation economies led to the creation of new cultures, new languages, and new musical forms. The Caribbean has been and continues to be a crucible in which new musical forms have repeatedly been forged.

In the Caribbean, creolization contributed to the creation of a wide array of musical forms, ranging from those closely resembling the European patterns, to "neo-African" forms. Each colony created its own music within this Euro-African array. That is why the Caribbean can be treated as a single musical region despite the major variations found locally. Musical creolization has been expressed in events in which music plays a

key role: the fiestas or *fêtes*, sometimes linked to religious practices; work songs that were sung by slaves in the fields in call-and-response style; traditional carnivals that were originally related to European religious celebrations but which little-by-little were taken over and reinterpreted by the Black population. Both Whites and Blacks danced in the carnivals, and both African and European instruments were played. Creolization also occurred in European dances, as slave musicians tended to transform styles to correspond to their own aesthetic sensibilities.

The key role of drums in Caribbean musical forms points to their African ancestry. Also fundamental are the relationship between music and dance, the call-and-response style, the music's social and collective nature, and the presence of syncopated rhythms. These elements are found in the jook dance or jumping dance of the Bahamas; the Kromanti dance and Gumbé, Kumina, and Convince or Bongo rites of Jamaica; the ritual dances of the Rastafarians; the *kalinda* dance of Trinidad; the *Santería* and *Abakuá* rituals of Cuba; the *palos* of the Dominican Republic; the Vodoun ceremonies of Haiti, and the *bomba* of Puerto Rico, to mention just a few examples.

Among the styles that more closely reflect European tradition are marches, polkas, mazurkas, and other dances, sometimes played by small-town bands with instruments of European origin, using the harmonic system based on diatonic scales that came from Europe. Yet, even when the diatonic system and European instruments are used, the bands modify styles and forms and insert rhythmic elements from African traditions to free up the melodies from rigid structures.

During the first centuries of the colonial period Europeans viewed musical forms of African origin as a form of social control and a way to maximize labor productivity. They attributed a functional meaning to such music, consistent with their own interests. African-based music sometimes gained legitimacy in its own right. And over time African-based music made its way into the sitting rooms of Europeans. Musical styles and dances from Europe were transformed and Africanized through the infusion of African elements in



Sifting cassava flour for making *bammies*. Methods and utensils used in the processing and cooking of manioc or cassava derive from the indigenous Arawak people. (Photo by Heliana Portes de Roux)

the repertoires of music groups such as the town bands that played European harmonies with Old World instruments. Examples include the *merengue* of the Dominican Republic, the *son* and *danzón* of Cuba, the *mento* of Jamaica, and the *biguine* of Martinique. All of these arose as new styles of folk music, and became to some extent a part of those nations' respective national identities. In other words what is "creole," the new creation, is an important part of what is authentic to each country.

Along with historical changes in the Caribbean, including urbanization and the spread of modern communication media, music has continued to evolve, always maintaining its links to its origins. Trinidad's calypso, Jamaica's reggae, and salsa—which unites Cuba, Puerto Rico, and New York—have all resulted from that ongoing process of creation and innovation. These creole genres have become international popular musics appealing to African, European, American and global audiences with a built-in diversity of style that appeals to many different aesthetic systems.

Creole Caribbean Cooking

The encounter of peoples in the Caribbean was also an encounter of food products and of transformations in the eating habits of those involved. With conquest came the rewards: gold, silver and precious stones, spices, fruits and cassava, cotton, indigo and tobacco. The Arawaks and Tainos, indigenous to the Caribbean, had knowledge of tropical fruits, corn, cassava, seafood and spices. These products, among others, provided the base from which new culinary processes evolved and represent today the silent contributions of the thousands of native peoples who died during the conquest and colonization of the islands.

Over centuries many food products were introduced to the regions—*ackee* from Africa, oranges and lemons from Spain, breadfruit from the Pacific, bananas, ginger, cloves, turmeric and nutmeg from Asia. The fertile soil of the Caribbean produced an abundance of useful plants, both native and introduced: cocoa and coconuts, avocados and eddoes, plantains and bananas, pineapples and pawpaw; soursops, sweetsops, guavas, mangoes, cassava and sweet potatoes; coffee, ginger, limes, grapefruits and other citrus fruits; and with much sorrow, sugar cane. Sugar cane has played a key role in the fortunes and misfortunes of the Caribbean. It was introduced in 1493 by Columbus and it was because of sugar cane that the slave trade flourished in the Caribbean plantations.

Many European crops such as wheat were not prominent in the Caribbean since they could not be successfully cultivated in a tropical climate. On the other hand, pork and beef were quickly incorporated into the Caribbean diet. Few of the traditional dishes of the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean

survived, and those of African origin were not often incorporated into the diet since slaves were given a ration and their food and taste preferences were not generally considered. At first male slaves were preferred to females, who had traditionally been the ones who prepared food. Also, in the initial stages of forced labor in the plantations there was little opportunity for culinary creations. For this reason, Europeans were the leaders in the early development of Caribbean cooking, adapting condiments and seasonings to newfound products.

As was the case in music and languages, conditions in the Caribbean nevertheless encouraged the development of creole foods. Fugitive slaves (*Cimarrones* or *Maroons*), pressed by need, created a stew or *puchero* that contained anything they could obtain. The “jerked pork” tradition of Maroons in Jamaica comes from the early days of their freedom when they hunted wild pigs. The abundance of sugar facilitated the creation of original desserts topped with fresh tropical fruit. The cooks, generally Black women, served as liaisons between the Afro-Caribbean population and slave owners, taking dishes prepared in their kitchen to the master’s table and diffusing newly learned European recipes among the Afro-Caribbean population. From this process of exchanging, borrowing and mixing, creole foods were created, based on local food products or those that were brought from other regions of the world and assimilated into Caribbean cuisine.

Today as in the past food is often prepared in the open air on a charcoal barbecue, giving the dishes the characteristic Caribbean flavor. Many islands claim specialties of their own—in Jamaica there is *ackee* and saltfish, the traditional cassava *bammies*, and

“jerked pork”; *ajiacó* and *lechón asado* in Cuba; *rognongs* in Haiti. Creole cooking has a unique flavor, with an immense number of dishes: curried goat and curried mutton, crabs and lobsters; *moros y cristianos* made with black beans and rice; fish cooked in coconut cream, stuffed avocados; pineapples filled with shellfish. In the end is Creole cookery that combines the flavors and ingredients of many peoples.

Conclusion

Music, language, religion and food products were not the only results of Caribbean creolization. Similar processes of adaptation, assimilation and transformation are evident in literature, theater, dance, painting and crafts. These expressions constitute the results of re-creation and re-edition, accomplished by all those who willingly or by force populated the Caribbean (and their descendants); they have left a profound mark on the cultures of the region. As we approach 1992 and the Quincentenary of Columbus' voyages to the Caribbean, we consider the encounter in the New World of people from several different continents. The consequences of that encounter—both good and bad—continue to unfold, shaping contemporary life in the Americas. The creole traditions of the Caribbean invite us to think not only about our complex past, but our cultural future as well.

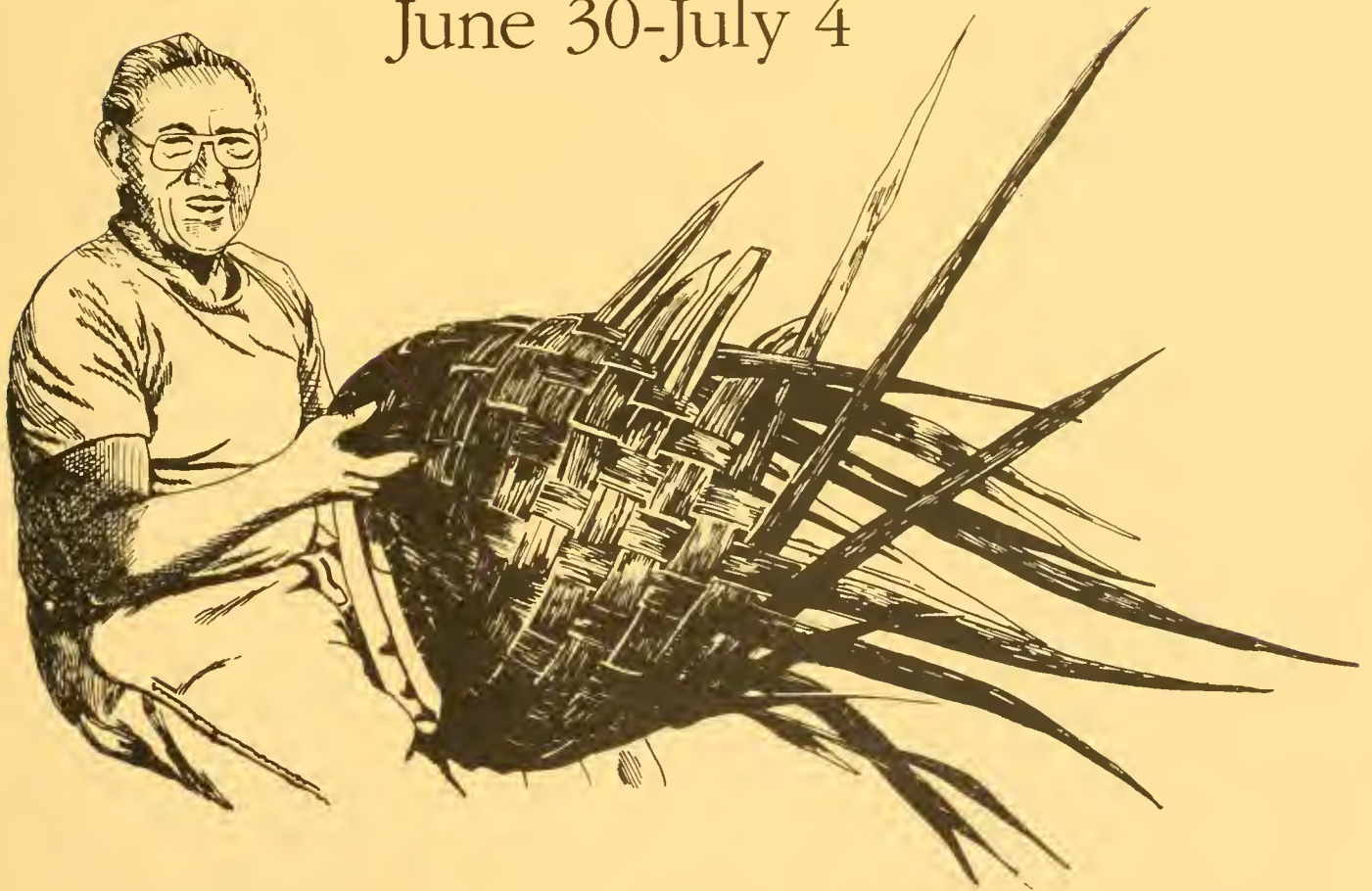
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Citations and Suggested Readings

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1989 Festival of American Folklife

June 23-27
June 30-July 4



Smithsonian Institution
National Park Service

General Information

Festival Hours

Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held on the Main Hawai'i Music Stage at 11:00 a.m. Friday, June 23rd. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties every evening, except July 4th, 5:30 to 7:00 p.m.

Food Sales

Traditional food from Hawai'i, France and Jamaica will be sold. See the site map for locations.

Sales

A variety of crafts, books and Smithsonian Folkways Records relating to the 1989 Festival programs will be sold in the Museum Shops tent on the Festival site.

Press

Visiting members of the press should register at the Festival Press tent on Madison Drive at 12th Street.

First Aid

An American Red Cross mobile unit will be set up in a tent near the Administration area near 12th Street on Madison Drive. The Health Units in the Museums of American History and Natural History are open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

Rest Rooms

There are outdoor facilities for the public and disabled visitors located near all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional rest room facilities are available in each of the museum buildings during visiting hours.

Telephones

Public telephones are available on the site, opposite the Museums of American History and Natural History, and inside the Museums.

Lost and Found/Lost Children and Parents

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer tent in the Administration area. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer tent also. We advise putting a name tag on youngsters.

Bicycle Racks

Racks for bicycles are located at the entrances to each of the Smithsonian Museums.

Metro Stations

Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible to either the Smithsonian or Federal Triangle stations on the Blue and Orange lines.

Services for Disabled Visitors

Three sign-language interpreters are on site every day at the Festival. Check the printed schedule and signs for interpreted programs. Oral interpreters are available for individuals if a request is made three full days in advance. Call (202) 357-1697 (voice) or (202) 357-1696 (TDD). An audio loop amplification system for people who are hard of hearing is installed at the Music Stage of the French area.

Large-print copies of the daily schedule and audiocassette versions of the program book and schedule are available free of charge at Festival information kiosks and the volunteer tent.

Wheelchairs are available at the Festival volunteer tent. Volunteers are on call to assist wheelchair users and to guide visually handicapped visitors. There are a few designated parking spaces for disabled visitors along both Mall drives. These spaces have three hour time restrictions.

Evening Dance Parties - 5:30 to 7:00 p.m.

Musical groups playing traditional dance music will perform every evening, except July 4th, at the Music Stage in the French area. On June 30 the dance party will be held at the O'bon tower in the Hawai'i area.

Program Book

Background information on cultural traditions of Hawai'i, the Caribbean, France and French America, and American Indians is available in the Festival of American Folklife Program Book, on sale for \$2.00 at the Festival site or by mail from the Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institution, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W., Suite 2600, Washington, D.C. 20560.



Información General

Horario del Festival

La ceremonia de apertura al Festival se celebrará en el escenario del Programa de Hawai'i, el 23 de junio a las 11:00 A.M. . A partir de ese día, las horas del Festival serán de 11:00 A.M. a 5:30 P.M. diariamente; con baile cada noche, excepto el 4 de julio, de 5:30 P.M. a 7:00 P.M. .

Venta de comida

Habrà comida típica de Hawai'i, Francia y Jamaica a la venta. Consulte el mapa del Festival para localizar los puestos de comida.

Objetos a la venta

Se podrán comprar piezas de artesanía, libros y discos relacionados con los programas del Festival de 1989 en la carpa designada Tienda del Museo, localizada en el Paseo Nacional.

Prensa

Los miembros de la prensa que visiten el Festival deberán inscribirse en la carpa destinada para la prensa en el Festival, localizada en Madison Drive y 12th Street.

Primeros auxilios

Una unidad de la Cruz Roja Americana se instalarà en una carpa cerca del àrea de la Administración, en Madison Drive y 12th Street. Las unidades de salud en los museos de Historia Norteamericana y de Historia Natural estaràn abiertos desde las 10:00 A.M. hasta las 5:30 P.M. .

Servicios higiénicos

Habrà baños o excusados para uso del público en las àreas de los diferentes programas, con

facilidades para las personas impedidas. Además, podrà utilizar los baños de los museos durante horas de visita.

Teléfonos

Habrà teléfonos públicos en el lugar del Festival y en los museos.

Personas y objetos extraviados

Las personas que hayan perdido a sus niños o a familiares pueden pasar por la carpa para voluntarios, en el àrea de la Administración, para pedir informaciòn sobre ellos. Recomendamos que los niños lleven puestas tarjetas con sus nombres. Los objetos encontrados o extraviados podràn entregarse o reclamarse en dicha carpa.

Enrejado para bicicletas

Los enrejados para bicicletas estàn localizados a la entrada de cada museo del Smithsonian.

Estaciones de Metro

Los trenes del Metro estaràn en funcionamiento diariamente durante el Festival. Puede llegar muy fácilmente al Paseo Nacional si toma la línea azul o naranja del Metro y se baja en las estaciones Smithsonian o Federal Triangle.

Servicios para los visitantes impedidos

Todos los días se encontraràn en el lugar del Festival tres intérpretes que conocen el "American Sign Language." Consulte el horario y los letreros en cada àrea para ver su localización. Los "oral interpreters" estaràn disponibles individualmente sólo si Ud. solicita este servicio con tres días de anterioridad. Llame al teléfono (202) 357-1697 (voz) o al (202) 357-1696 (TDD). También se instalarà un sistema especial de amplificaciòn de sonido en el escenario del Programa Francés.

Se ofreceràn copias de los programas diarios con letras ampliadas para aquellas personas con problemas visuales, y cintas grabadas con informaciòn sobre los programas y con los horarios de cada día. Podrà obtener su copia o cinta gratis en los centros de informaciòn del Festival y en la carpa para voluntarios.

Habrà sillas de ruedas disponibles en la carpa de voluntarios, y éstos podràn ayudar a aquellas personas que necesiten silla de ruedas o a las que necesiten un guía debido a problemas visuales. Los visitantes impedidos podràn estacionarse en los lugares de estacionamiento designados para estos casos, localizados a ambos lados del Paseo Nacional. Estos estacionamientos tienen un límite de uso de tres horas.

Actividades bailables nocturnas - 5:30 a 7:00 P.M.

Todas las noches actuaràn grupos que interpretarán música bailable tradicional, con la excepciòn del 4 de julio. Estas presentaciones se llevaràn a cabo en el escenario del Programa Francés. El 30 de junio la actividad bailable se efectuarà en la torre O'bon, en el àrea del Programa de Hawai'i.

Catálogo

El catálogo del programa del Festival de Culturas Tradicionales Americanas estarà a la venta por un valor de \$2.00. Dicho catálogo ofrecerà informaciòn sobre las culturas tradicionales de Hawai'i, del Caribe, de Francia y de los franco-americanos, y de los indo-americanos; y se puede comprar en el lugar del Festival o por correo, escribiendo a la siguiente direcciòn: Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institution, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W., Suite 2600, Washington, D.C. 20560.

Information Générale

Horaire du Festival

Les cérémonies d'ouverture du Festival auront lieu sur la scène musicale principale de Hawai'i, à 11h., vendredi, le 23 juin. Après cela, les heures du Festival seront de 11h. à 17h.30 chaque jour, avec des soirées dansantes de 17h.30 à 19h., sauf le 4 juillet.

Vente d'aliments

Des mets régionaux d'Hawai'i, de France et de la Jamaïque seront en vente. Veuillez consulter le plan du Festival pour l'emplacement de ces stands.

Ventes

Une variété d'objets d'artisanat, des livres, des enregistrements de "Smithsonian Folkways" ayant rapport aux présentations du Festival de 1989, seront en vente sur le site sous la tente des magasins des musées.

Corps de presse

Les attachés de presse sont priés de s'inscrire à la tente de la Presse sur Madison Drive et la 12^e rue.

Postes de secours

Une unité mobile de la Croix Rouge sera située sous une tente à côté de l'Administration près de la 12^e rue sur Madison Drive. Les services de santé des Musées de l'Histoire Américaine et d'Histoire Naturelle sont ouverts de 10h. à 17h.30.

Toilettes

Des toilettes sont disponibles au public et aux visiteurs handicapés sur l'emplacement de chaque programme sur le Mall. D'autres toilettes sont disponibles dans tous les musées avoisinants durant les heures d'ouverture.

Téléphones

Des téléphones publics sont disponibles sur le site du Festival en face des Musées de l'Histoire Américaine et d'Histoire Naturelle, ainsi qu'à l'intérieur des Musées.

Objets perdus/Personnes perdues

Les objets trouvés ou perdus peuvent être remis ou réclamés à la tente des volontaires. Si un membre de famille est perdu, veuillez vous adresser à la tente des volontaires. Nous vous conseillons de pourvoir vos enfants avec une étiquette portant leur nom.

Bicyclettes

Des tréteaux pour bicyclettes sont situés à l'entrée de chacun des musées du Smithsonian.

Stations de Métro

Les métros sont en service chaque jour du Festival. Le site du Festival est accessible aux arrêts "Smithsonian" et "Federal Triangle" du réseau Bleu ou Orange.

Services d'aide pour les handicapés

Trois interprètes pour "American Sign Language" seront sur le site chaque jour du Festival. Veuillez consulter les horaires imprimés ou les affiches pour les représentations interprétées. Des interprètes oraux seront disponibles sur demande faite trois jours à l'avance. Veuillez téléphoner au (202) 357-1697 (voix) ou au (202) 357-1696 (TDD). Un système d'audio-amplification est disponible pour ceux qui ont des difficultés auditives; il est installé près de la scène musicale du programme français.

Des horaires en grand imprimé et des audio-cassettes des programmes et des horaires sont disponibles gratuitement aux kiosques



d'information et à la tente des volontaires.

Des chaises roulantes peuvent s'obtenir à la tente des volontaires du Festival. Des volontaires sont prêts à aider ceux qui nécessitent une chaise roulante et à guider les handicapés visuels. Les handicapés peuvent garer leur voiture le long des allées du Mall. Ces places ont une limite de trois heures.

Soirées dansantes: de 17h.30 à 19h

Des groupes de musiciens traditionnels accompagneront les soirées dansantes chaque soir, sauf le 4 juillet; ces soirées auront lieu sur la scène musicale du programme français. Le 30 juin, la soirée dansante aura lieu près de la tour O'bon du programme hawaïien.

Programme

Des informations concernant les traditions culturelles de Hawaï, des Antilles, de la France et de la francophonie américaine, et des Indiens de l'Amérique, sont présentées dans le catalogue du *Festival of American Folklife* (Festival du Patrimoine Américain), en vente pour \$2.00 sur le site du Festival; il obtenu par courrier en écrivant à l'adresse suivante: Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institution, 955 L'Enfant Plaza, SW, Suite 2600, Washington, DC 20560.

Participants in the 1989 Festival of American Folklife

Hawai'i

Crafts

Sherlin Beniamina, shell *lei* maker - Makaweli, Kaua'i
Wright Bowman, Jr., koa canoe builder - Honolulu, O'ahu
William Char, flower *lei* maker - Honolulu, O'ahu
Michael Ilipukea Dunne, woodworker - Honolulu, O'ahu
Alapai Hanapi, woodworker - Kea'au, Hawai'i
Lisa Hiroe, paper doll maker - Honolulu, O'ahu
Calvin Hoe, *bula* instrument maker - Kaneohe, O'ahu
Tsugi Kaiama, feather *lei* maker - Kamuela, Hawai'i
Deborah Kakalia, quiltmaker - Honolulu, O'ahu
Meali'i N. Kalama, quiltmaker - Kailua, O'ahu
Samuel Kamaka, stringed instrument maker - Kaneohe, O'ahu
Alfred Yama Kina, textile weaver - Honolulu, O'ahu
Esther Makua'ole, *laubala* weaver - Waimea, Kaua'i
Emilia Mau'ia, fine mat weaver - Honolulu, O'ahu
Duane J.L. Pang, Taoist priest - Honolulu, O'ahu
Irmalee Pomroy, flower *lei* maker, floral designer - Kapa'a, Kaua'i
Leodegario Reyno, coconut weaver - Pepe'ekeo, Hawai'i
Robert J. Ruiz, saddlemaker - Waimea, Kaua'i
Henry Silva, rawhide braider - Kula, Maui

Kenichi Tasaka, bullrush sandalmaker - Hanalei, Kaua'i
Wah Chan Thom, calligrapher - Honolulu, O'ahu
Thomas K. Yoshida, bullrush sandalmaker - Honolulu, O'ahu

Performance Traditions

Kelfred Chang, lion dancer - Honolulu, O'ahu
Pearl Ulu Garmon, storyteller - Kamuela, Hawai'i
Clement Lum, lion dancer - Kaneohe, O'ahu

Camoës Players - Portuguese music
Josephine C. Carrieria, 'ukulele player, singer - Honolulu, O'ahu
Mary L. Carvalho, singer - Honolulu, O'ahu
Alfred Castro, guitar, 'ukulele player - Honolulu, O'ahu
Marilyn Domingo, 'ukulele player - Honolulu, O'ahu
Harold Teves, guitarist, mandolinist - Kaneohe, O'ahu

El Conjunto Boricua - Puerto Rican Kachi-Kachi band
Marcial Ayala III, *bongo*, *guiro* player - Waianae, O'ahu
Charles Figueroa, accordion, *guiro* player - Honolulu, O'ahu
August M. Rodrigues, guitar, *quatro* player - Pearl City, O'ahu
Julio Rodrigues, Jr., *quatro* player - Waianae, O'ahu
Julio Deleon Rodrigues III, guitarist - Kaneohe, O'ahu

Family Camarillo - Filipino Banduria band

Davin Mario Camarillo, *banduria*, *bajo*, guitar, 'ukulele player - Hilo, Hawai'i
George O. Camarillo, Jr., *banduria*, piano, guitar, bass, trumpet player - Hilo, Hawai'i
George O. Camarillo, Sr., tenor guitar, *bajo*, sax, clarinet, flute player - Hilo, Hawai'i

Halla Pai Huhm Dancers - Korean Dance

Halla Pai Huhm, dancer and teacher - Honolulu, O'ahu
Jennifer Cho, dancer - Honolulu, O'ahu
Remie Choi, dancer - Honolulu, O'ahu
So Jin Chong, dancer - Honolulu, O'ahu
Yeon Hi "Mu Sun Pai" Harajiri, dancer - Honolulu, O'ahu
Christine Won, dancer - Honolulu, O'ahu

Halau 'O Kekuhi - Hawaiian Hula Dance

Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahale, *kumu hula*, chanter - Hilo, Hawai'i
Nalani Kanaka'ole, *kumu hula*, chanter - Hilo, Hawai'i
Kau'ilani Almeida, dancer - Hilo, Hawai'i
T. Kamuela Chun, dancer - Hilo, Hawai'i
Kaipo Frias, dancer - Hilo, Hawai'i
Hokulani Kaikaina, dancer - Hilo, Hawai'i
'O'ilipua Kaikaina, dancer - Hilo, Hawai'i
Punahele Lerma, dancer - Hilo, Hawai'i
Kika Keith Nohara, dancer - 'Aiea, O'ahu
Keonaona Trask, dancer - Kurtistown, Hawai'i

Hawaiian Music

S. Haunani Apoliona, singer, songwriter, guitarist - Honolulu, O'ahu

Richard Ho'opi'i, falsetto singer, 'ukulele player - Kahakuloa, Maui
Solomon Ho'opi'i, falsetto singer, 'ukulele player - Makawao, Maui
Barney Issacs, steel guitarist - Honolulu, O'ahu
Ledward Ka'apana, slack key guitarist - Kaneohe, O'ahu
Elodia Kane, singer - Waianae, O'ahu
Raymond Kane, slack key guitarist - Waianae, O'ahu
Violet Pahu Liliko'i, bass guitarist - Honolulu, O'ahu
Clyde "Kindy" Sproat, singer, 'ukulele player, storyteller - Kapa'au, Hawai'i

Iwakuni Group - O Bon - Japanese music and dance

Elaine Kaneko, dancer, teacher - Eleele, Kaua'i
Katsuichi Funamura, singer - Koloa, Kaua'i
Robert S. Kato, drummer - Eleele, Kauai
Ken K. Morita, singer - Kapaa, Kaua'i
Itsue Okada, drummer - Waimea, Kaua'i

Ku'ulei's Own - Hawaiian family band

Faith Ku'ulei Kekiwi, singer, 'ukulele player - Ulupalakua, Maui
Merton Kekiwi, bass guitarist - Ulupalakua, Maui
Francis Po'ouahi, Sr., guitarist - Hana, Maui
Melva Po'ouahi, singer - Hana, Maui

Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha - Hawaiian Hula Dance

Elaine Kaopuiki, *kumu hula*, chanter - Lana'i City, Lana'i
Pearl Ah Ho, dancer - Lana'i City, Lana'i
Juliet Bayez, dancer - Lana'i City, Lana'i

Lynette C. Kaopuiki,
dancer - Lana'i City,
Lana'i
Rita Moon, dancer - Lana'i
City, Lana'i
Sandra Lehua Pate, dancer
- Lana'i City, Lana'i
Heather K. "Kaihi Lani"
Romero, dancer - Lana'i
City, Lana'i

*Nakasone Seifu Kai -
Okinawan Music and
Dance*

Harry Nakasone, *uta
sanshin* player -
Honolulu, O'ahu
Raelene Balidoy-Noda,
dancer - Honolulu,
O'ahu
Issac Ken Hokama,
drummer - Honolulu,
O'ahu
Tammi Sachiyo Hokama,
dancer - Honolulu,
O'ahu
Norman Kaneshiro, lion
dancer - Honolulu,
O'ahu
James Maeda, *sanshin*
player - Honolulu,
O'ahu
Scot Moriyama, lion dancer
- Honolulu, O'ahu
Karen Nakasone, dancer -
Honolulu, O'ahu
Kooko E. Nakasone,
dancer - Honolulu,
O'ahu
Mayuri Lily Nakasone,
dancer - Honolulu,
O'ahu
Yoshino Majikina
Nakasone, dancer and
teacher - Honolulu,
O'ahu
Phyllis Sumiko
Shimabukuro, dancer -
Honolulu, O'ahu
Katsuko Teruya, *koto*
player - Honolulu,
O'ahu

Pa'u Riders

Carol Ann Kamila Grace
Anana - Waimanalo,
O'ahu
Novelene Mahealani Asing
- Honolulu, O'ahu

Doveline Ka'aloalaikini
Borges - Honolulu,
O'ahu
Shirley Kukana Brenner -
Pearl City, O'ahu
Tracy Lokelani
Keali'iho'omalua - Kailua,
O'ahu
Corine Puanani Mata -
Kailua, O'ahu

Samoan Music Ensemble

Lusia Ma'afala, dancer,
musician - Honolulu,
O'ahu
Gloria Mane, dancer -
Honolulu, O'ahu
Pita Sala, dancer, musician
- Honolulu, O'ahu
Mataitusi Tauala, orator,
dancer, storyteller -
Honolulu, O'ahu

*Waimea Hawaiian Church
Choir - Himeni Choral
Music*

Alina Kauinohea Kanahele,
singer - Makaweli,
Kaua'i
Elama Kanahele, singer -
Makaweli, Kaua'i
Issac Kaahamana Ka-
nahele, singer -
Makaweli, Kaua'i
Kauai O Kalome Kanahele,
singer - Makaweli,
Kaua'i
Malaki Kanahele, singer -
Makaweli, Kaua'i
Lama Kaohelaui'i, singer -
Makaweli, Kaua'i
Rama Kaohelaui'i, singer -
Makaweli, Kaua'i
William Kaohelaui'i, singer
- Makaweli, Kaua'i
Miriam Kaleipua
Pahulehua, singer -
Makaweli, Kaua'i

*Zuttermeister Family -
Hawaiian Hula Dance*

Emily Kau'i Zuttermeister,
kumu hula, chanter -
Kaneohe, O'ahu
Noenoelani Zuttermeister
Lewis, *bula* dancer -
Kaneohe, O'ahu
Hauolionalani Lewis, *bula*
dancer - Kaneohe,
O'ahu

Occupational Traditions

Henry A. Auwae, herbalist,
healer - Hilo, Hawai'i
Thomas Kamaka Emmsley,
lava rock wall builder -
Hana, Maui
James Keolaokalani Hu'eu,
taro farmer - Haiku, Maui
Eric Ono, herbalist -
Honolulu, O'ahu
Chauncey Pa, throw net
fishing - Kilauea, Kaua'i

Foodways

Connie Camarillo, Filipino
cooking, singer - Hilo,
Hawai'i

Doris Mary Rodrigues
Correia, Portuguese
cooking - Honolulu,
Hawai'i
Manuel Correia, Portuguese
forno builder - Honolulu,
O'ahu
Ah Wan Goo, Hawaiian
imu cooking - Anahola,
Kaua'i
Jane E. Goo, Hawaiian *imu*
cooking, quiltmaker -
Anahola, Kaua'i
Kay Kimie Hokama,
Okinawan cooking -
Honolulu, O'ahu
June Tong, Chinese cooking
- Honolulu, O'ahu



**American
Indian Program**

Great Basin Basketry

Florine Conway, basket-
maker - Schurz, Nevada
Bernadine DeLorme,
basketmaker - Reno,
Nevada
Norm DeLorme, basket-
maker - Reno, Nevada
Becky Eagle, basketmaker -
Wadsworth, Nevada
Theresa Jackson, basket-
maker - Gardnerville,
Nevada
Joann Martinez, basket-
maker - Gardnerville,
Nevada
Lily Sanchez, basketmaker -
Fallon, Nevada

**Plains Indian Buffalo
Traditions**

Keith Bear, buffalo dancer -
Mandaree, North Dakota
William Bell, Sr., singer,
storyteller - New Town,
North Dakota

Inez Chase, hide tanner -
New Town, North
Dakota
Virgil F. Chase, headdress
maker, buffalo dancer -
New Town, North
Dakota
Naomi Foolishbear, hide
tanner - New Town,
North Dakota
Dean Peter "Good Eagle"
Fox, buffalo manager,
singer, buffalo dancer -
Mandaree, North Dakota
Marty Good Bear, buffalo
dancer - New Town,
North Dakota

**Yaqui Pascola and Deer
Dances**

Ignacio Alvarez, fiddler -
Tucson, Arizona
Steve C. Armadillo,
drummer, deer singer -
Tucson, Arizona
Steven Armadillo, Jr.,
Pascola dancer - Tucson,
Arizona

Timothy Cruz, *moro* -
Marana, Arizona
Angel Duarte, deer dancer -
Marana, Arizona
Felipe Garcia, deer singer,
rasper - Tucson, Arizona
Alberto Gonzalez, harp
player - Sonora, Mexico
Mateo Gonzalez, drummer,
flute player - Sonora,
Mexico
Benjamin Lucero, rasper,
deer singer - Marana,
Arizona
Felipe Molina, rasper, deer
singer - Marana, Arizona
Glaciro Perez, deer dancer -
Marana, Arizona
Sara Valencia, altar maker -
Marana, Arizona

Iroquois Lacrosse

Frank Benedict, stickmaker
- Akwesasne Mohawk
Reserve
Owen Benedict, stickmaker
- Akwesasne Mohawk
Reserve
Averill K. Bucktooth, player
- Nedrow, New York
Drew Bucktooth, player -
Nedrow, New York
Freeman Bucktooth, Jr.,
coach - Nedrow, New
York
Calvin Hill, player -
Nedrow, New York
Dustin Wayne Hill, player -
Nedrow, New York
Brendon LaForme, player -
Sanborn, New York
Aaron Patterson, player -
Sanborn, New York
Jeffrey Powless, player -
Nedrow, New York
Emmett Printup, coach -
Sanborn, New York
Tony Printup, player -
Sanborn, New York
Clayton Smith, player -
Sanborn, New York
Louis Stone, player -
Niagara Falls, New York
Murray Stout, player -
Nedrow, New York
Clyde Van Every, player -
Sanborn, New York
Melvin White, stickmaker -
Akwesasne Mohawk
Reserve

Ojibway Wild Rice Technology

Charles W. Ackley, wild rice
harvester - Crandon,
Wisconsin
Naomi Ackley, wild rice
harvester - Crandon,
Wisconsin
Neena Anne Ackley, wild
rice harvester - Crandon,
Wisconsin
Victoria Ann Ackley, wild
rice harvester - Crandon,
Wisconsin
Earl Nyholm, wild rice
harvester - Crystal Falls,
Michigan



Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America

Brittany, France

Gilbert Bourdin, singer,
accordionist - Rennes
Christian Dautel, singer -
Point Aven
Jean Gauçon, hurdy-gurdy
player - Languieux
Olivier Glet, instrument
maker, *biniau* &
bombarde player -
Rieux
Gilbert Hervieux, instru-
ment maker, *biniau* &
bombarde player -
Rieux
Eric Marchand, singer,
clarinetist - Poullaouen
Albert Poulain, singer,
storyteller - Pipriac
Joseph Quintin, hurdy-
gurdy player, singer -
Trégueux

Normandy, France

Pierre Boissel, fiddler -
Caen

Philippe Gleises, fiddler,
dancer - Bourgébus
Baptiste Guillard, dancer,
accordionist - Le Mans
Yves Guillard, dancer,
accordionist - Le Mans
Régis Launay, dancer -
Le Mans
Louis LeBéllanger, singer,
dance caller, fiddler,
storyteller - Marigny
Jean-Philippe Péccate,
dancer - Le Mans
Anne Piraud, clarinetist,
fiddler, dancer -
Bourgébus

Poitou, France

Thierry Bertrand, *veuze*
maker and player - La
Garnache
Bernadette Bidault, singer,
storyteller - Saint-Benoit-
sur-Mer
David Cousineau, fiddler,
accordionist - Vouille
Jean-Loec LeQuellec,
fiddler, accordionist -
Saint-Benoit-sur-Mer
Michel Raballand, dancer -
Challans
Yvette Raballand, dancer -
Challans

Quebec, Canada

Irène Berthiaume, singer -
Ste-Marie-de-Beauce
Emmanuel Cloutier, singer -
St-Jules-de-Beauce
Marie-Rose Cloutier, singer -
St-Jules-de-Beauce
Lorraine Fortin, weaver -
Clermont, Charlevoix
Adéla Imbault, rugmaker -
St-Simion, Charlevoix
Dominique Lavallée, wood-
carver - Charlesbourg
Paul-Emile Lavallée, wood-
carver - Levis
Normand Legault, step-
dancer, caller, bones
player - Breakeyville
Jean-Paul Loyer, guitarist -
Joliette
Noëlla Marquis, pianist -
Beauce
Marcel Messervier,
accordionist -
Montmagny

Marcel Messervier, Jr.,
pianist - Montmagny
Normand Miron, singer,
accordionist, harmonica
player - Ste-Béatrix
Raynald Ouellet,
accordionist -
Montmagny
Francine Rehel, pianist -
Montréal
Hermas Rehel, fiddler,
stepdancer - Brossard
Bernard Simard, guitarist -
Québec

United States

Christine Balfa, triangle
player - Breaux Bridge,
Louisiana
Dewey Balfa, fiddler, singer
- Basile, Louisiana
Edmond Boudreau,
guitarist, mandolinist -
Waltham, Massachusetts
Pierre Boyer, storyteller,
fiddler - Potosi, Missouri
Delton Broussard,
accordionist - Opelousas,
Louisiana
Gerald Broussard,
accordionist - Opelousas,
Louisiana
Calvin Carriere, fiddler -
Lawtell, Louisiana
Phillip Carriere, drummer -
Lawtell, Louisiana
Inez Catalan, ballad singer -
Kaplan, Louisiana
Marie Dean, basketmaker,
dollmaker - Dulac,
Louisiana
J.C. Gallow, *frottoir* player -
Opelousas, Louisiana
Ben Guillemette, fiddler -
Sanford, Maine
Dudley Hebert, guitarist -
Basile, Louisiana
Robert Jardell, accordionist
- Crowley, Louisiana
John Keplin, guitarist,
dancer - Belcourt, North
Dakota
Lawrence Keplin, fiddler -
Belcourt, North Dakota
Ryan Keplin, fiddler -
Belcourt, North Dakota
Marcelle Lacouture, story-
teller - Lafayette,
Louisiana

Robert LaRoche, singer, stepdancer - Alfred, Maine
 Adrien Morin, guitarist - Sanford, Maine
 Anna Mae Parfait, storyteller - Dulac, Louisiana
 Roy A. Parfait, palmetto weaver - Dulac, Louisiana
 Maria Perrault, singer - Rochester, New Hampshire
 Mitchell Reed, bass guitarist - Lafayette, Louisiana
 Arcade Richard, harmonica player, stepdancer - Leominster, Massachusetts
 Gerry Robichaud, fiddler - Waltham, Massachusetts
 Jeanne Trepanier, stepdancer, singer - Rochester, New Hampshire
 Errol Verret, accordion maker and player - Catahou, Louisiana

The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

Cuba

Grupo Afro Cuba de Matanzas
 Francisco "Minini" Zamora, director, singer - Matanzas
 Pedro "Regalao" Aballi, percussionist - Matanzas
 Bárbara Aldazabal, percussionist - Matanzas
 Hortensio "Virulilla" Alfonso, singer - Matanzas
 Reinaldo "Buchichi" Alfonso, percussionist - Matanzas
 Bertina Aranda, singer - Matanzas
 Ramón "Sandy" García, percussionist - Matanzas
 Reinaldo "Nardo" Govés, percussionist - Matanzas
 Sara Govés Villamil, singer - Matanzas
 Pedro "Pello" Tapalnes, percussionist - Matanzas

Grupo Changüí de Guantánamo
 Carlos Barromeo Planchet, percussionist - Guantánamo
 Andrés Fistó, percussionist, bongo player - Guantánamo
 Arsenio Martínez, percussionist - Guantánamo
 Saturnino Mendoza, string musician - Guantánamo
 Evelia Noblet, dancer - Guantánamo
 José Oliveras, percussionist, tres player - Guantánamo
 Antonio Tijeros, percussionist, maracas player - Guantánamo

Son Traditional Rural

Félix Varela Miranda, drummer, guitarist - La Habana

Cuarteto Patria y Compay Segundo

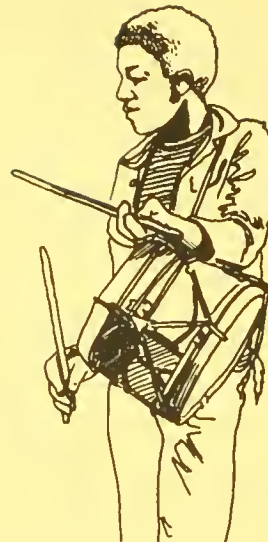
Armando Machado Casaco, bass guitarist - Provincia de Oriente
 Eliades Ochoa Bustamente, guitarist, singer - Provincia de Oriente
 Francisco Repilado Muñoz, guitarist, singer - Provincia de Oriente
 Joaquín Emilio Solórzano Benítez, percussionist - Provincia de Oriente
 Benito Suárez Magana, guitarist - Provincia de Oriente

Familia Oviedo

Isaac Oviedo, percussionist - Matanzas
 Ernesto Oviedo, percussionist - Matanzas
 Julio Oviedo, guitarist, singer - Matanzas
 Ernesto Oviedo Jr., guitarist, singer - Matanzas

Jamaica

Kumina Band
 Elijah Alexander, drummer, drummer, singer - Kingston
 Aaron Bailey, dancer - Kingston



Myrtle Bailey, dancer, singer - Kingston
 James Jonothan, percussionist - Kingston
 Bertram Kelly, drummer, drummer, singer - Kingston
 Clinton Kennedy, percussionist - Kingston
 Imogene "Queenie" Kennedy, singer, dancer, healer, Ki Congo speaker - Kingston

Maroons

Charles Aarons, drummer, drum maker, singer - Moore Town
 Hermine Daure, dancer, singer - Moore Town
 Martha Downer, dancer, singer - Moore Town
 C.L.G. Harris, Colonel of Windward Maroons, leader, Twi speaker, cook - Moore Town
 George Harris, drummer, drummer, singer, abeng blower - Moore Town
 Phyllis Myers, dancer, singer, cook - Moore Town
 Sydney McDonald, dancer, singer, Twi speaker - Moore Town

Nyabingi Rastas

George S. Bent, master ketay drummer - Clarendon
 Lynda Bailey, chanter - Clarendon
 Eadley Bailey, bass drummer - St. Thomas

Jennifer Brown, chanter - Trelawny
 Pamela Bent, chanter - Clarendon
 Fritz Dudley Elliott, drummer - Clarendon
 Shephan Fraser, fundeb drummer, chanter - St. Andrew
 Terrance Joel Gordon, fundeb drummer - Clarendon
 Pedman W. Golding, dub poet, bass drummer - St. Andrew
 Ruben Drio German, drummer - Clarendon
 Donovan Gilmore, drummer - Clarendon
 Theresa Graham, chanter - Bull Bay
 Winston Jenkins, drummer - St. Andrew
 Victor Emmanuel Reid, drummer - Clarendon
 Lucena Williams, chanter - St. Andrew
 Frank Worrell, drummer - Clarendon

Crafts and Foodways

Maurice Fabian Clarke, thatch builder - Clarendon
 Cassilda Findley, cassava cook, singer - St. Elizabeth
 Una Griffiths, cassava cook, singer - St. Elizabeth

Puerto Rico

Marcial Reyes y Sus Pleneros
 Marcial Reyes, leader, percussionist, singer - Bayamón
 Antonio Juan Bones, percussionist, singer - Bayamón
 José Calderón, dancer - Bayamón
 Eva Hernández, singer - Bayamón
 Enrique Martínez, percussionist - Bayamón
 Milagros Mojita, dancer - Bayamón
 José Ramírez Rivera, percussionist - Bayamón
 José "Frankie" Sepúlveda Hernández, percussionist - Bayamón

Ricardo Sepúlveda
Hernández, percussionist
- Bayamón
Eduardo Walker, percussion-
ist, singer - Bayamón

Cuerdas de Borinquen
Aníbal Alvarado Negrón,
güiro player - Ponce
Edicelio Caraballo, *trovador*,
singer - Guárico
Edwin Hernández Ro-
dríguez, bass guitarist -
Ponce
Victor Rafaél Hernández
Figuerola, *trovador* -
Ponce
Juan Montalvo Cruz, *cuatro*
player - Peñuelas
Elvin Pérez Matos, *cuatro*
player - Peñuelas
Martín de Jesús Rodríguez,
singer, *güiro* and *bongó*
player - Villalba
Conrado Albino Torres,
guitarist - Peñuelas

Foodways
Susan Llequis García, cook -
Santurce

Haiti

Voudoun Group de Madame
Nerva
Constant Delfine "Madame
Nerva," *Mambo*, leader,
dancer, singer - Jacmel
Madili Charles, dancer -
Jacmel
Terzilia Celestin, dancer -
Jacmel
Celanie Constant, dancer -
Jacmel
Denise Caulin, drummer -
Jacmel
Genilia Collin, dancer -
Jacmel
Seymour Janvier, dancer -
Jacmel
Herby Lindor, dancer -
Jacmel
Guerda Malique, dancer -
Jacmel
St. Etienne Mardi, *laplace* -
Jacmel
Charlene Sanon Polone,
dancer - Jacmel
Louis Roosevelt, master
drummer - Jacmel

Marie Guerda Simplicie,
dancer - Jacmel
Jaques Simplicie, drummer -
Jacmel

Foodways
Maria Gina Cesar, cook -
Jacmel

Community Concert

Son de la Loma

Frankie Acevedo, singer,
güiro player - New York,
New York
José Chichi, trumpeter -
New York, New York
Tito Contreras, *maracas*
player, singer - New
York, New York
Leo Flemming, bass guitarist
- New York, New York
Joe Gonzales, *bongo* player
- New York, New York
Helio García, trumpeter -
New York, New York
Marcelino Guerra, singer,
claves player - New
York, New York
Lourdes López, *chekere*
player - New York, New
York
Albertina Márquez, guitarist
- New York, New York
Irene Pérez, *tres* player -
New York, New York
Armando Sánchez, *conga*
player - New York, New
York

Masterful
Pierre Belony, guitarist,
singer - Washington,
D.C.
Serge Bellegarde,
keyboardist -
Washington, D.C.
Pierre Richard Content,
drummer, percussionist -
Washington, D.C.
Carlo Camille, percussionist
- Washington, D.C.
Gertie Gatson, singer,
percussionist -
Washington, D.C.
Delroy Headley, bass
guitarist - Washington,
D.C.
Marco Limus, trombonist -
Washington, D.C.
Pierre Pen, *conga* player -
Washington, D.C.

Folklore Summer Institute

An innovative new project of the Office of Folklife Pro-
grams overlaps with this year's Festival: a Folklore Summer
Institute (June 29 - July 13). Important folklore research
and presentation in the United States are carried out by
local researchers and community-based scholars, many
without formal academic training. The Institute is intended
to recognize and encourage these local folklorists, to en-
hance their skills, and to establish contact with folklore
scholars and professionals. Twelve community-based
scholars have been invited to the Smithsonian to interact
with members of the Office of Folklife Programs staff and
other folklorists, ethnomusicologists, anthropologists and
museum specialists, and to take part in discussions, work-
shops and field trips. The scholars will be introduced to
national resources for folklore research, documentation and
presentation. They will be able to share their experience,
ideas and concerns as local researchers, archivists, present-
ers and cultural advocates with one another and with distin-
guished faculty members drawn from several universities
and institutions. We hope that the Institute will aid the de-
velopment of local resources and talent available to study,
present and conserve the Nation's folklife. For more infor-
mation about future Institutes and other outreach programs,
please write to the Office of Folklife Programs.

*This program is made possible by support from the Smith-
sonian Educational Outreach Fund, the American Folklore*
Society, the Ohio Arts Council, Indiana University, Rutgers
University and Pan-Am World Airways, Inc.

Betty Belanus, Director
Hanna Griff, Assistant

Faculty

Charles Camp - Maryland
Arts Council
Gerald Davis - Rutgers
University
Susan Dyal - Santa Monica,
California
Elaine Eff - Baltimore
Traditions
Sharon King - Southern Arts
Federation
Michael Licht - Washington
D.C. Commission on the
Arts
Jack Tchen - Queens
College, Asian-American
Center
Ricardo Trimillos -
University of Hawai'i at
Manoa

Participants

Patricia Ashford - Cleveland
Heights, Ohio
Carolyn Banks - Herman-
ville, Mississippi
Walter A. Bolton - Prine-
ville, Oregon
William D. Chin - New
York, New York
Patricia Crosby - Lorman,
Mississippi
Gordon G. Kellenberger -
Amana, Iowa
Daniel Lopez - Sells,
Arizona
Von Martin - Seabrook,
Maryland
Pang Xiong Sirirathasuk -
Upper Darby,
Pennsylvania
Vanessa Thaxton - St.
Helena Island, South
Carolina
Ruth Thomasian - Water-
town, Massachusetts
Kathy Vargas - San Antonio,
Texas


Friday, June 23

Hawai'i

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America





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The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

American Indian Program

	Main Stage	Hounfor	Jamaican Dancing Booth	Solar	Foodways
11:00					
12:00					
1:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo	 Vèvè Workshop: Making Sacred Vodoun Drawings	Kumina Bands	Cuban <i>Tumbandera</i> Drummaking Workshop	Cuban Ritual Cooking
2:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria	Workshop: Making a Vodoun Altar		Cuban Arará Ceremony	Jamaican Preparation of Cassava
3:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changui		Maroon Drumming & Dance		 Puerto Rican Cooking with Cassava & Tropical Fruits
4:00	Puerto Rican <i>Bomba & Plena</i> : Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros	Vodoun Ceremony in Honor of Legba, Ghede & Baron	Puerto Rican <i>Jibaro</i> Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen		Maroon Cooking with Coco Root & Coconut
5:00	 Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo				Rice in Haitian Cooking
	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria	Ritual Dance Workshop	Kumina Bands Drumming Workshop		
	Cuban <i>Rumba</i> : Grupo Afro-Cuba		 "The Talking Drum:" Workshop with the Maroon Bands	Workshop on Cultivating the Gourd & Making the <i>Guiro</i>	Puerto Rican Cooking with Cassava

On-going craft demonstrations, instrument making, games, ritual crafts







	Center Mall	Woods	Narrative Stage
11:00			
12:00	 Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Ojibway Problems of Access to Wild Rice
1:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	Yaqui Problems Acquiring Ceremonial Needs
2:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Wild Rice Camp	Access to Recognition: The Case of Lacrosse
3:00	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Great Basin Problems Acquiring Willow for Basketry
4:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	Indian Language: Cultural Continuity & Identity
5:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Wild Rice Camp	Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo to Reservations
	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	 Indian Problems Marketing Crafts & Foods
			The Decline of Natural Materials

Ongoing demonstrations: Lacrosse instruction, Yaqui ramada construction & trihal arts demonstration, wild rice processing, lacrosse stick making, buffalo hide tanning, Great Basin basket making, buffalo headdress making, bullboat making

Saturday, June 24

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America

Hawai'i

	Music Stage	Hula Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demonstrations	Children's Area		Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00	Portuguese Music: Camoes Players	Halau 'O Kekhuu	Island Stories				11:00		
12:00	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha	 Religion in Hawai'i	Hawaiian Cooking in the <i>Imu</i>	Surrounding the <i>O'bon</i> Tower: paper doll making, calligraphy, Taoist worship, bullrush sandal making, <i>laubala</i> weaving, coconut weaving, herbal medicine, <i>kasuri</i> weaving	Coconut Toymaking & Origami Paper Folding	12:00	New England Fiddle	Québécois Fiddle & Accordion
								 Michif & French Ballads	
1:00	Hawanan Music	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	Roots in Asia	Okinawan Cooking Traditions	Maritime area koa canoe building, throw net fishing	Korean Dance	1:00	Songs from Brittany	Music from Brittany
2:00	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	 Samoan Music & Dance	Hawaiian Crafts		Occupational area: taro farming, lava rock wall building	Sing & Play a Hawaiian <i>Hula</i>	2:00	Music & Dance from Poitou	 Do We Still Speak the Same Language
								Foodways	
3:00	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo	<i>Pu'u</i> Parade	Celebrations in Hawai'i	Portuguese Cooking Traditions	Paniolo tack shed-saddlemaking, rawhide braiding		3:00	Character Dances from Sarthe, Normandy	French Storytelling
		Kau'i Zuttermeister Family	 Comparative Boat Building						New England Harmonica
4:00	Hawaiian Music: Ku'ulei's Own	Samoan Music & Dance	Plantation Life	Chinese Cooking Traditions	Near the <i>Hula</i> stage: shell, floral and feather <i>lei</i> making, instrument making, quilting	Hawaiian Stories & Legends	4:00	Hurdy-Gurdy Music from Brittany	New England Singers
	Korean Dance: Halla Pai Huhm Dancers								
5:00	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Ilo'opri'i Brothers	Journeys to Hawai'i		Near the Narrative stage: woodworking, photo exhibit of plantation life		5:00	French Songs	Breton Bagpipes
									Music from Normandy
	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Portuguese Music Camoes Players	Guitar Styles Workshop					Music from Poitou	Cajun Ballads
		Kau'i Zuttermeister Family							

Special Event: *Pu'u* Parade, starting at 2:00 near the Hula Stage

1:00-1:45 – Floral, Shell and Feather *Lei* making

3:00-3:45 – Medicinal Herbs


4:00-5:00 – *O-bon* Dance

Dance Party

7:00








Zydeco Dance: The Lawtell Playboys

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The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

American Indian Program

	Main Stage	Hounfor	Jamaican Dancing Booth	Solar	Foodways		Center Mall	Woods	Narrative Stage
11:00						11:00			
12:00	<i>Jibaro</i> Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen	<i>Vèvè</i> Workshop: Making Sacred Vodoun Drawings	Rastafarian Drumming	Cuban <i>Tumbandera</i> Drummaking Workshop 	Cuban Ritual Cooking 	12:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	International Boundaries: Problems Maintaining Cultural Ties
	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo			Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria	Haitian Soups		Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Wild Rice Camp	Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo to Reservations
1:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changüí	 Ritual Dance Workshop: Hawaiians, Haitians, & Yaqui Indians	Kumina Drumming	Cuban Santería Ceremony	Maroon Preparation of Pork — “JerK”	1:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Great Basin Problems Acquiring Willow for Basketry
2:00	Puerto Rican <i>Bomba & Plena</i> : Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros				Jamaican Preparation of Cassava	2:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	Ojhiway Problems of Access to Wild Rice
3:00	<i>Jibaro</i> Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen	Vodoun Ceremony in Honor of Erzulie		 Maroon Drumming & Dance	Puerto Rican Cooking with Tropical Fruits		Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Wild Rice Camp	Yaqui Problems Acquiring Ceremonial Needs
	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo				Jamaican Cassava Cooking & Wattle Fence Workshop	3:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	 Treaty Rights: Indian vs European Concepts of Land Use
4:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria	Initiation & Purification Workshop	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Changüí		Puerto Rican Cooking with Cassava Root	4:00			Traditional Native Subsistence Foods & Their Preparation
5:00	Cuban <i>Rumba</i> : Grupo Afro-Cuba		Kumina Bands		 Maroon Roasting of Pork — “JerK”	5:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	 Access to Recognition: The Case of Lacrosse
	Puerto Rican <i>Bomba & Plena</i> : Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros						Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Wild Rice Camp	The Decline of Naural Materials





On-going craft demonstrations: instrument making, games, ritual crafts

Ongoing demonstrations: Lacrosse instruction, Yaqui ramada construction & tribal arts demonstration, wild rice processing, lacrosse stick making, buffalo hide tanning, Great Basin basket making, buffalo headdress making, bullboat making

Sunday, June 25

Hawai'i

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America

	Music Stage	Hula Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demonstrations	Children's Area		Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00							11:00		
12:00	Korean Dance: Halla Pai Huhm Dancers	 Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	Instrument Making	Okinawan New Year Cooking Traditions	Surrounding the <i>O'bon</i> Tower: paper doll making, calligraphy, Taoist worship, bullrush sandalmaking, <i>laubala</i> weaving, coconut weaving, herbal medicine, <i>kasuri</i> weaving	Hawaiian Games & Lassoing	12:00	Michif Music from North Dakota	Cajun Songs
	Portuguese Music: Canoes Players	Kau'i Zuttermeister Family	Ukulele Styles Workshop	Chinese New Year Cooking Traditions				Hurdy-Gurdy Music	
1:00	Hawaiian Music: Ku'ulei's Own	 Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha				Hawaiian Renaissance	Island Stories & Legends	"Show me how to do the <i>Hula</i> "	Gaspé Style Fiddling
	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Samoan Music & Dance	Hula Training	Portuguese Holiday Cooking Traditions		Maritime area: koa canoe building, throw net fishing			Québécois Song
2:00	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir			Tourism in Hawai'i		Occupational area: taro farming, lava rock wall building	Korean Dance	
	Hawaiian Music	Halau 'O Kekhui	 Hawaiian Stories	Filipino Holiday Cooking Traditions		Near the <i>Hula</i> stage: shell, floral and feather <i>lei</i> making, instrument making, quilting			3:00
3:00	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Samoan Music & Dance	Puerto Ricans in Hawai'i		 Hawaiian Lu'au Cooking Traditions		Chinese & Okinawan Lion Dancers	Music & Dance from Poitou	
	4:00	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo		Kau'i Zuttermeister Family		Near the Narrative stage: woodworking, photo exhibit of plantation life			New England Call & Response Singing
5:00		Hawaiian Music	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha	Reading the Sea	Songs from Brittany		Harmonica		
								5:00	Cajun Music: Dewey Balfa & Friends


Special Event, *Kalua* Pig in the *Imu*
 1:00-1:45 - *Paniolo* Crafts at the Tack Shed
 3:00-3:45 - Hawaiian Quilting
 4:00-4:45 - *O'bon* Dance

Dance Party

7:00





Caribbean
Dance:
Cuerdes de
Boriquen
Grupo Afro-Cuba

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The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

American Indian Program

	Main Stage	Hounfor	Jamaican Dancing Booth	Solar	Foodways
11:00					
12:00	Cuban Son: Cuarteto Patria	Brulé zin Workshop: Building the Hearth & Lighting the Fire	 Drumming Workshop: Kumina & Maroon		Cuban Ritual Foods
	Puerto Rican Bomba & Plena: Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros		Cuban Rumba: Grupo Afro-Cuba		
	Jibaro Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen		Kumina Bands		Maroon Cooking with Coco Root & Coconut & Wattle Fence Workshop
1:00				Cuban Tumbandera Drummaking Workshop	
2:00	Cuban Son: Familia Oviedo	 Vodoun Ceremnyy in Honor of Damballah			Jamaican & Puerto Rican Cooking with Cassava
	Cuban Son: Grupo Changüí		Cuban Son: Cuarteto Patria	 Puerto Rican Giliro-making Workshop	Sweet Potato & Haitian Candies
3:00	Puerto Rican Bomba & Plena: Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros	Workshop: Making a Vodoun Altar	Maroon Drumming & Dance		Jamaican Uses of Cassava
4:00	Cuban Son: Familia Oviedo		Controversias Workshop: Puerto Rican Cuerdas de Borinquen	 Cuban Abakuá Ceremony	Puerto Rican Fruits as Food and Medicine
5:00	Compassa: A carnival procession through the Caribbean area led by the Abakuá masked dancers. Join participants in this festive celebration.				

On-going craft demonstrations: instrument making, games, ritual crafts

	Center Mall	Woods	Narrative Stage
11:00			
12:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	Yaqui Problems Acquiring Ceremonial Needs
	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Wild Rice Camp	 Traditional Native Practices Maintaining Sustained Yields
			Indian Language: Cultural Continuity & Identity
1:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	
2:00			Ojibway Problems of Access to Wild Rice
	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	
3:00			Indian Problems Marketing Crafts & Foods
	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	
			Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo to Reservations
4:00	 Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Great Basin Basketry	
			Great Basin Problems Acquiring Willow for Basketry
5:00		Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	
	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Wild Rice Camp	Access to Recognition: The Case of Lacrosse
			The Decline of Naural Materials

Ongoing demonstrations: Lacrosse instruction, Yaqui ramada construction & tribal arts demonstration, wild rice processing, lacrosse stick making, buffalo hide tanning, Great Basin basket making, buffalo headdress making, bullboat making


Monday, June 26

Hawai'i



Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America

	Music Stage	Hula Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demonstrations	Children's Area		Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00							11:00		
12:00	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha	Roots in Asia	Filipino <i>Cascarone</i>	Surrounding the <i>O'bon</i> Tower: paper doll making, calligraphy, Taoist worship, bullrush sandalmaking, <i>laubala</i> weaving, coconut weaving, herbal medicine, <i>kasuri</i> weaving	Make a <i>Lei</i> & Coconut Toys	12:00	Breton Music	Preserving French Identity & Heritage
	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	Hawaiian Stories					French Tales from Missouri	
1:00	Hawaiian Music	Halau 'O Kekuhi	Plantation Life	Portuguese <i>Malasadas</i>		Performance of Korean Dancing	1:00	New England Music & Step Dancing	Music & Dance from Poitou
								Character Dances from Normandy	
2:00	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo	Samoan Music & Dance	<i>Pa'u</i> Demonstration			"Show me how to do the <i>Hula</i> "	2:00	Music from Normandy	Cajun Songs
								Woodcarving	
3:00	Korean Dance: Halla Pai Huhm Dancers	Kau'i Zuttermeister Family	Hawaiian Language	Chinese <i>Gin Doi</i>	Occupational area: taro farming, lava rock wall building	Island Stories & Legends	3:00	Zydeco Music: The Lawtell Playboys	Music from Brittany
	Portuguese Music: Canoe Players	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	Stringed Instrument Workshop						Musical Instrument Making
4:00	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Hawaiian Chant	Okinawans in Hawai'i	Hawaiian <i>Koelepalau</i>	<i>Paniolo</i> tack shed: saddlemaking, rawhide braiding	Hawaiian Games	4:00	Québécois Song	Storytelling
	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo	Halau 'O Kekuhi	Music & Tourism						Gaspé Style Fiddling
5:00	Hawaiian Music: Ku'ulei's Own	Samoan Music & Dance	Percussion Workshop	Okinawan <i>Undagi</i>	Near the Hula stage: shell, floral and feather <i>lei</i> making, instrument making, quilting		5:00	Cajun Music: Dewey Balfa & Friends	Stereotypes: How We See Each Other
								Near the Narrative stage: woodworking, photo exhibit of plantation life	Hurdy-Gurdy Music from Brittany
1:00-1:45 – Lava Rock Wall Building 3:00-3:45 – Throw Net Fishing in the Maritime Area 4:00-5:00 – <i>O-bon</i> Dance							Dance Party		
							7:00	Veillée: Dance Music from Quebec & New England	

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.




Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

	Main Stage	Hounfor	Jamaican Dancing Booth	Solar	Foodways
11:00					
	<i>Jibaro</i> Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen	Vèvè Workshop: Making Sacred Vodoun Drawings	Drumming Workshop: Kumina & Maroon	Cuban <i>Tumbandera</i> Drummaking Workshop	Cuban Ritual Cooking
12:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria			Cuban Palo Monte Ceremony	Jamaican Preparation of Cassava
1:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changüí		 Puerto Rican <i>Jibaro</i> & <i>Bomba</i> Workshop		Puerto Rican Cooking with Cassava
	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo				
2:00		Vodoun Ceremony in Honor of Ghede			
	Puerto Rican <i>Bomba</i> & <i>Plena</i> : Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros		Kumina Bands	Puerto Rican Herbs Workshop	Maroon Cooking with Coco Root & Coconut
3:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria	Loa-Selection Workshop	Thatching Workshop		Jamaican Cassava Cooking
4:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changüí				
	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo				
5:00	Cuban <i>Rumba</i> : Grupo Afro-Cuba		Maroon Drumming & Dance		Making Puerto Rican & Haitian Candy

On-going craft demonstrations: instrument making, games, ritual crafts

American Indian Program










	Center Mall	Woods	Narrative Stage
11:00			
	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	 Wild Rice Camp	International Boundaries: Problems Maintaining Cultural Ties
12:00	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Great Basin Basketry	Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo to Reservations
1:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Water Rights: Government Policy & Regulation
			Access to Recognition: The Case of Lacrosse
2:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Wild Rice Camp	 Indian Language: Cultural Continuity & Identity
	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Great Basin Basketry	Great Basin Problems Acquiring Willow for Basketry
3:00		 Buffalo Culture: Buffalo Dancing & Tribal Arts	Yaqui Problems Acquiring Ceremonial Needs
4:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances		
	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Wild Rice Camp	Ojibway Problems of Access to Wild Rice
5:00	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Great Basin Basketry	Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo

Ongoing demonstrations: Lacrosse instruction, Yaqui ramada construction & tribal arts demonstration, wild rice processing, lacrosse stick making, buffalo hide tanning, Great Basin basket making, buffalo headdress making, bullboat making

Tuesday, June 27

Hawai'i

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America

	Music Stage	Hula Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demonstrations	Children's Area		Music Stage	Narrative Stage			
11:00							11:00					
12:00	Portuguese Music: Camoës Players	Kau'i Zuttermeister Family	 <i>Pa'u</i> Demonstration	Chinese Cooking Traditions	Surrounding the <i>O'bon</i> Tower: paper doll making, calligraphy, Taoist worship, bullrush sandalmaking, <i>laubala</i> weaving, coconut weaving, herbal medicine, <i>kasuri</i> weaving	Coconut Toymaking & Origami Paper Folding	12:00	Character Dances from Normandy	Harmonica & Fiddle			
	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha	Hawaiian Heritage Award Recipients					 Storytelling				
	1:00	Hawaiian Music	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir					Herbal Healing	 Staples: Taro Cassava Wild Rice	Chinese & Okinawan Lion Dancing	1:00	Cajun Music: Dewey Balfa & Friends
		Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Samoan Music & Dance	<i>Hula</i> Training	 Maritime area: koa canoe building, throw net fishing	Korean Dance	2:00	Hurdy-Gurdy Music from Brittany	Cajun Songs			
2:00				Filipino Cooking Traditions				Occupational area: taro farming, lava rock wall building	"Show me how to do the <i>Hula</i> "	2:00	Quebec & New England Call & Response Singing	Ballads
3:00	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Ho'opi'i Brothers	Japanese in Hawai'i		 Music & Dance from Poitou	Hawaiian Stories & Legends	3:00				 Music & Dance from Poitou	Music & Dance from Normandy
	Portuguese Music: Camoës Players	Halau 'O Kekuhi	Access to Natural Resources									Zydeco Music: The Lawtell Playhoys
		Korean Dance: Halla Pai Huhm Dancers	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	 Hawaiian <i>Paniolo</i> (Cowboys)								
4:00				Portuguese Cooking in the <i>Forno</i>	Near the <i>Hula</i> stage: shell, floral and feather <i>lei</i> making, instrument making, quiltmaking		4:00					
5:00	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Samoan Music & Dance	Hardwood in Hawai'i					Okinawan Cooking Traditions	Near the Narrative stage: woodworking, photo exhibit of plantation life	5:00	Gaspé Style Fiddling	Music & Dance from Poitou
		Hawaiian Music: Ku'u'lei's Own	 Halau 'O Kekuhi	Slack Key Guitar Styles Workshop	 Language As a Form of Identity							


1:00-1:45 – Instrument Making
3:00-3:45 – Taoist Worship in the Chinese Crafts Tent
4:00-5:00 – *O-bon* Dance

Dance Party

7:00


French
Music & Dance

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.




Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

American Indian Program

	Main Stage	Hounfor	Jamaican Dancing Booth	Solar	Foodways
11:00					
12:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria	Vèvè Workshop: Making Sacred Vodoun Drawings	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changüí	Cuban Anakuá Ceremony	Jamaican Preparation of Cassava
	Puerto Rican <i>Bomba & Plena</i> : Marcial Reyes y sus plenarios		Drumming Workshop: Jamaican & Cuban		Maroon Ginger Beer Making
1:00	<i>Jibaro</i> Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen	Vodoun Ceremony in Honor of Ghede	Thatching & Wattle Workshop	Cuban <i>Tumbandera</i> Drummaking Workshop 	
	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo		Maroon Drumming & Dance		
2:00		Flag Dance Workshop	Kumina Bands		Cuban Ritual Cooking
3:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changüí				
	Puerto Rican <i>Bomba & Plena</i> : Marcial Reyes y sus plenarios		<i>Jibaro</i> Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen		Puerto Rican Cooking with Coconut
4:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo		Ritual Dance Workshop: Kumina & Haitian		Haitian Soups
5:00	Cuban <i>Rumba</i> : Grupo Afro-Cuba				

On-going craft demonstrations: instrument making, games, ritual crafts

	Center Mall	Woods	Narrative Stage
11:00	 Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Wild Rice Camp	Access to Recognition: The Case of Lacrosse
12:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Indian Problems Marketing Crafts & Foods
1:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	Indian Language: Cultural Continuity & Identity
	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances		 Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo to Reservations
2:00		Wild Rice Camp	Yaqui Problems Acquiring Ceremonial Needs
3:00	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Traditional Native Practices Maintaining Sustained Yields
	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Great Basin Basketry	Ojibway Problems of Access to Wild Rice
4:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	 Wild Rice Camp	Great Basin Problems Acquiring Willow for Basketry
5:00	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	The Decline of Natural Materials

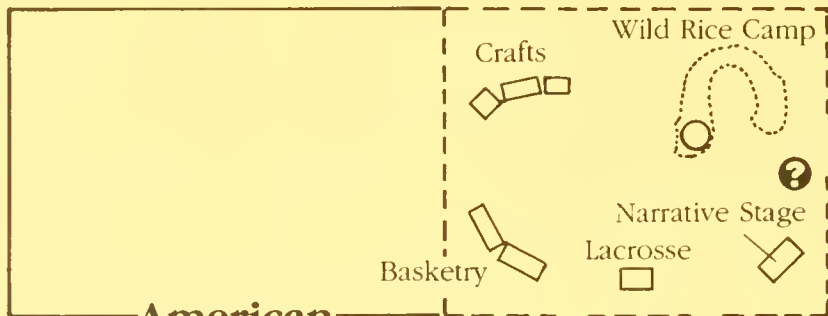
Ongoing demonstrations: Lacrosse instruction, Yaqui ramada construction & tribal arts demonstration, wild rice processing, lacrosse stick making, buffalo hide tanning, Great Basin basket making, buffalo beaddress making, bullboat making

Festival Site Map

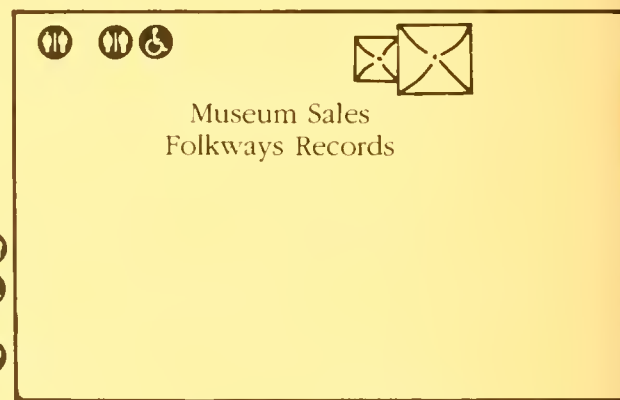
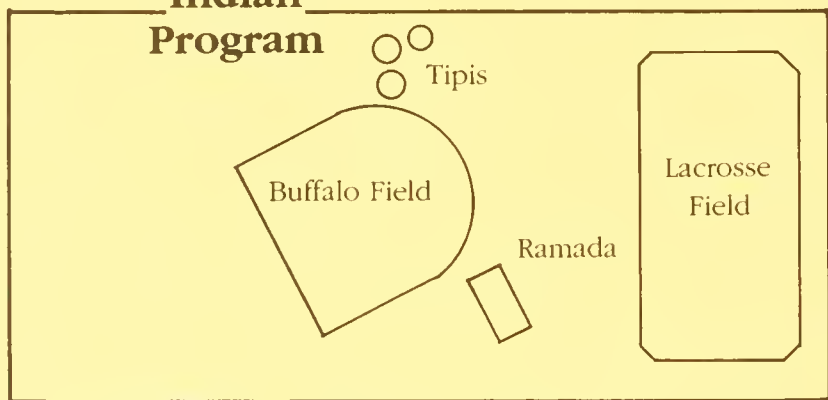
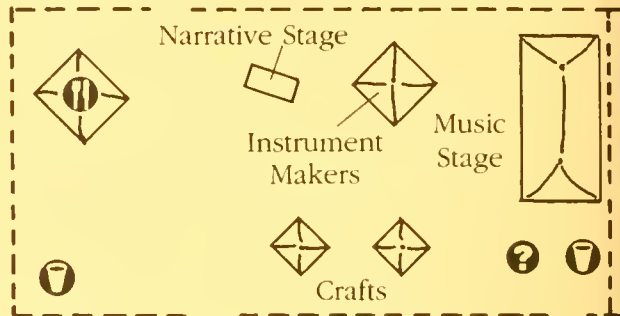
Madison Drive

Les Fêtes Chez Nous:

France and North America

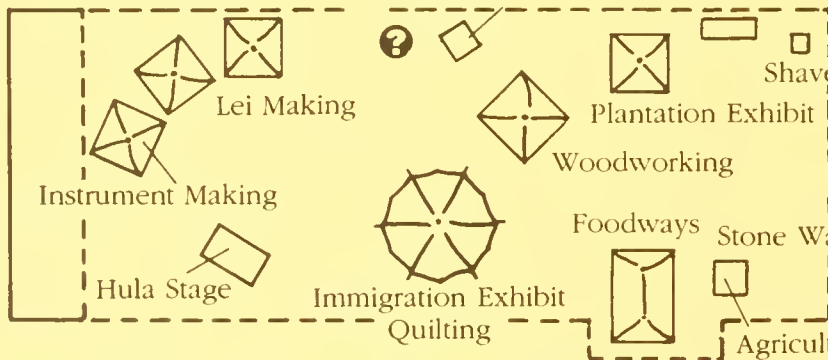


**American
Indian
Program**

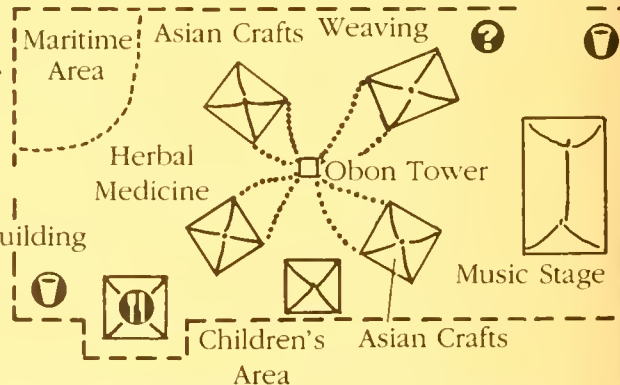


Hawai'i

Cowboy Tack Shed Narrative Stage

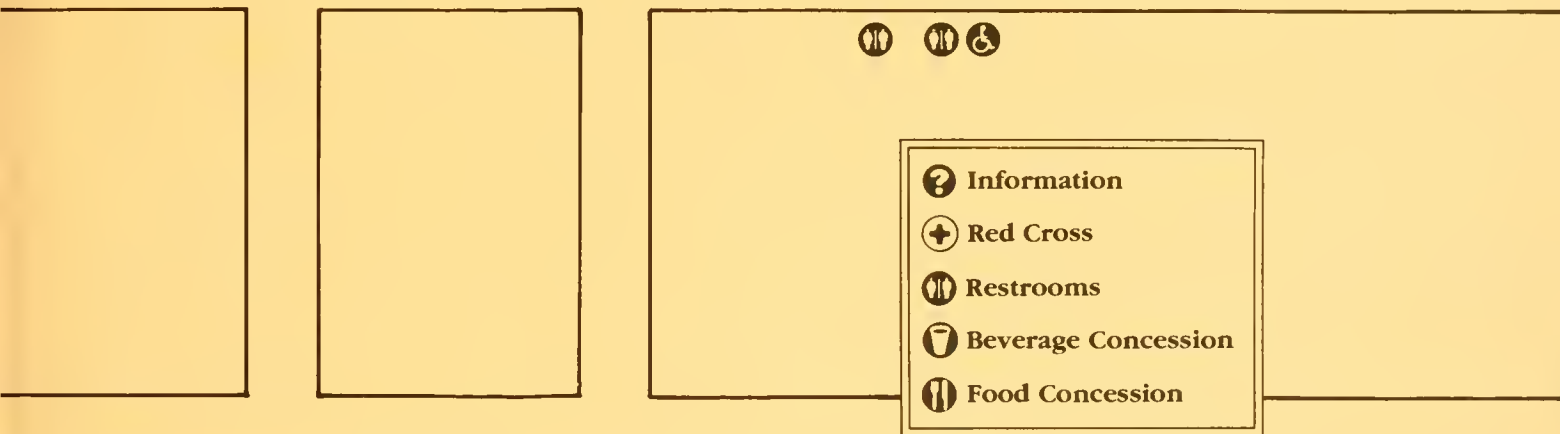


Hawai'i

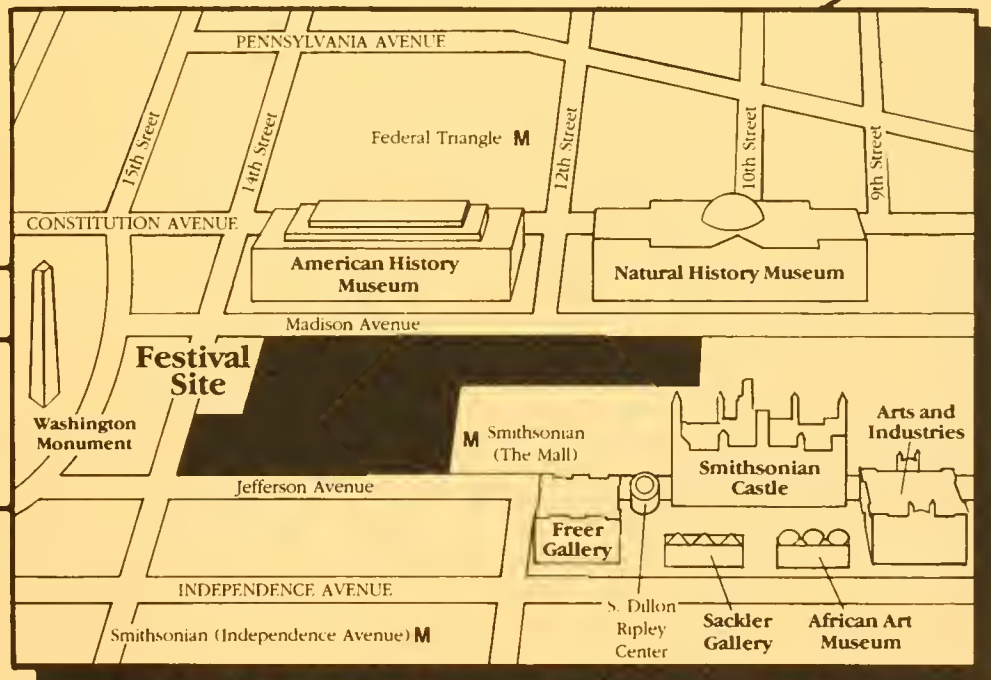


Jefferson Drive

The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World



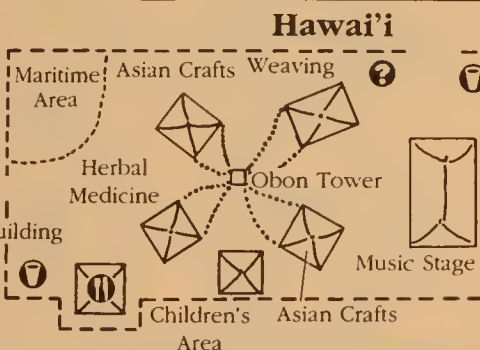
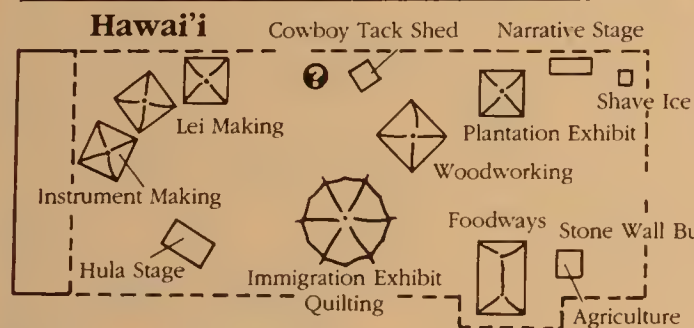
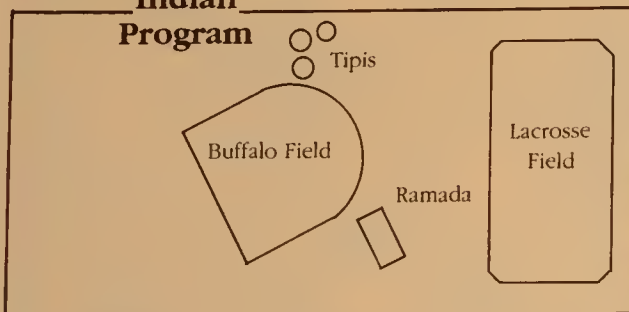
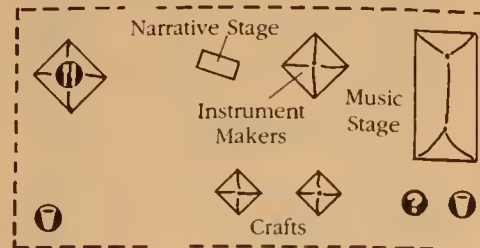
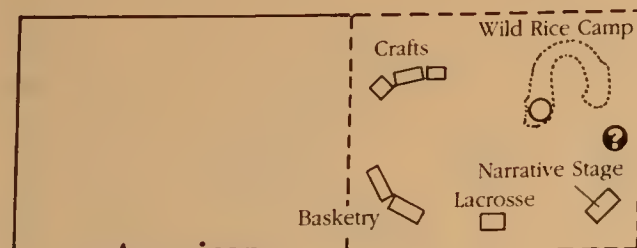
M Smithsonian (The Mall)



Festival Site Map

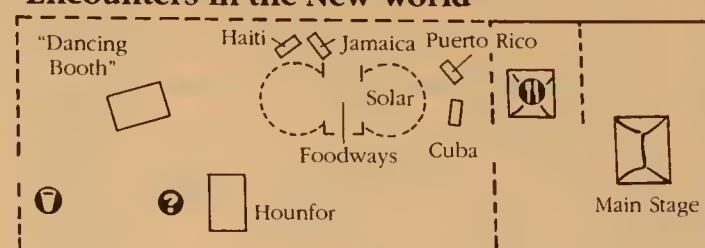
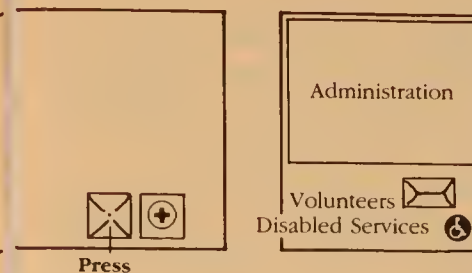
Madison Drive

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America



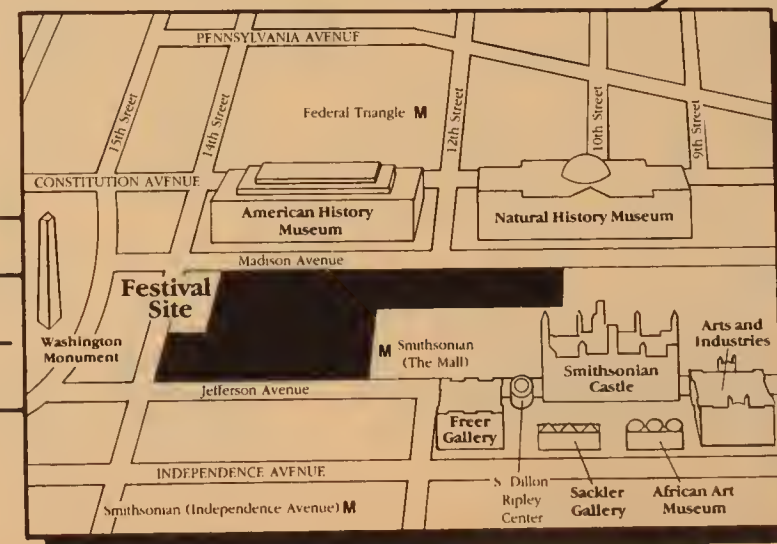
Jefferson Drive

The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World



- Information
- Red Cross
- Restrooms
- Beverage Concession
- Food Concession









Smithsonian (The Mall)




Friday, June 30

Hawai'i

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America




	Music Stage	Hula Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demonstrations	Children's Area		Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00							11:00		
12:00	Hawaiian Music: Ku'ulei's Own	Samoan Music & Dance	 Plantation Life	Chinese Cooking Traditions	Surrounding the O'bon Tower: paper doll making, calligraphy, Taoist worship, bullrush sandal making, laubala weaving, coconut weaving, herbal medicine, kasuri weaving	"Show me how to do the Hula"	12:00	Québécois Harmonica	The Declaration of the Rights of Man
			Islands in Transition: Ni'ihau & Kaho'olawe						
1:00	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	 Halau 'O Kekuhi	'Ukulele Styles Workshop	Portuguese Cooking in the Forno	Maritime area: koa canoe building, throw net fishing	Hawaiian Stories & Legends	1:00	New England Fiddling	Music from Brittany
2:00	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	Journeys to Hawai'i	Filipino Cooking Traditions	Occupational area: taro farming, lava rock wall building	Korean Dance	2:00	Songs from Brittany	Songs from Louisiana
3:00	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoa	 Herbal Healing	Hawaiian Cooking in the Imu	Paniolo tack shed, saddlemaking, rawhide braiding	Hawaiian Games	3:00	Québécois Accordion & Step Dance	 Storytelling
4:00	Hawaiian Music	Samoan Music & Dance	Revival & Folklore	Hawaiian Cooking in the Imu	Near the Hula stage: shell, floral and feather lei making, instrument making, quiltmaking	Lei making & Origami Paper Folding	4:00	Cajun Music: Dewey Balfa & Friends	Michif Music & Song
5:00	Korean Dance: Halla Pai Huhm Dancers	Kau'i Zuttermeister Family	Chinese in Hawai'i	Okinawan Cooking Traditions	Near the Narrative stage: woodworking, photo exhibit of plantation life		5:00	Hurdy-Gurdy Music from Brittany	Music from Normandy
6:00	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	 Hawaiian Quiltmaking				6:00	Songs from Quebec	 Storytelling
7:00	Portuguese Music: Camoes Players	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoa	Obana: Families in Hawai'i				7:00	Music & Dance from Poitou	 Cajun Songs
8:00	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Hawaiian Chant					8:00	Zydeco Music: The Lawtell Playboys	Houma Crafts
1:00-1:45 – Woodworking Techniques 3:00-3:45 – Canoe Building in the Maritime Area 						Dance Party			
						O'bon Dance: at the O'bon Tower			
						7:00			

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.





Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

American Indian Program

	Main Stage	Hounfor	Jamaican Dancing Booth	Solar	Foodways
11:00					
	Cuban Son: Familia Oviedo	Vèvè Workshop: Making Sacred Vodoun Drawings	 Kumina Bands	Instrument Making Workshop: Tumbandera & Guiro	Cuban Ritual Cooking
12:00	Cuban Son: Cuarteto Patria	Workshop: Making a Vodoun Altar	Thatching Workshop	Cuban Arara Ceremony	
1:00	Cuban Son: Grupo Changüí		Maroon Drumming & Dance		Jamaican Preparation of Cassava
	Jibaro Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen	Vodoun Ceremony in Honor of Legha, Ghede & Baron			Puerto Rican Cooking with Cassava & Tropical Fruits
2:00	Puerto Rican Bomba & Plena: Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros				 Maroon Ginger Beer Making
3:00	Cuban Son: Familia Oviedo		Cuban Son: Grupo Changüí		Wattle Fence Workshop: Defining the Home Space
4:00	Cuban Son: Cuarteto Patria		Jibaro Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen		Rice in Haitian Cooking
5:00	Cuban Rumba & Puerto Rican Bomba & Plena: Grupo Afro-Cuba & Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros		 Drumming Workshop: Maroons & Kumina		Jamaican & Puerto Rican Cooking with Cassava

On-going craft demonstrations: instrument making, games, ritual crafts



	Center Mall	Woods	Narrative Stage
11:00			
	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	 Buffalo Culture: Bullboat Making & Tribal Arts	Great Basin Problems Acquiring Willow for Basketry
12:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	Ojibway Problems of Access to Wild Rice
1:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Wild Rice Camp	 Problems of Access to Traditional Resources
	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Yaqui Problems Acquiring Ceremonial Needs
2:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	 Great Basin Basketry	Indian Language: Cultural Continuity & Identity
3:00	 Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Wild Rice Camp	Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo to Reservations
4:00	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Indian Problems Marketing Crafts & Foods
5:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	Access to Recognition: The Case of Lacrosse

Ongoing demonstrations: Lacrosse instruction, Yaqui ramada construction & tribal arts demonstration, wild rice processing, lacrosse stick making, buffalo hide tanning, Great Basin basket making, buffalo headdress making, bullboat making


Saturday, July 1

Hawai'i

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America






	Music Stage	Hula Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demonstrations	Children's Area		Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00							11:00		
12:00	Portuguese Music: Camoes Players	Halau 'O Kekhui	Island Stories	Hawaiian Cooking in the <i>Imu</i>	Surrounding the <i>O'bon</i> Tower: paper doll making, calligraphy, Taoist worship, bullrush sandalmaking, <i>laubala</i> weaving, coconut weaving, herbal medicine, <i>kasuri</i> weaving	Coconut Toymaking & Origami Paper Folding	12:00	Dance Music from New England	Cajun Songs
	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha				Religion in Hawai'i		Korean Dance	Québécois Harmonica
	Hawaiian Music			Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir		Roots in Asia	Okinawan Cooking Traditions		1:00
Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua		Samoan Music & Dance	Hawaiian Crafts					Portuguese Cooking Traditions	
2:00	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo	Kau'i Zuttermeister Family	Celebrations in Hawai'i	Portuguese Cooking Traditions		Occupational area: taro farming, lava rock wall building	Chinese & Okinawan Lion Dancers		3:00
		Hawaiian Music: Ku'ulei's Own	Halau 'O Kekhui		<i>Haoles</i> in Hawai'i			Chinese Cooking Traditions	
4:00	Korean Dance: Halla Pai Huhm Dancers		Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	Plantation Life	Filipino Cooking Traditions	Near the Narrative stage: woodworking, photo exhibit of plantation life	4:00		Music from Normandy
	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Samoan Music & Dance	Journeys to Hawai'i	Fiddle Styles					
5:00	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Ho'opi'i Brothers	Guitar Styles Workshop					5:00	Zydeco Music: The Lawtell Playboys
		Kau'i Zuttermeister Family							
Special Event: Samoan Cricket Game in the Lacrosse Field at 2:00.							Dance Party	Cajun Dance: Dewey Balfa & Friends	
1:00-1:45 – Floral, Shell and Feather <i>Lei</i> making 									
3:00-3:45 – Medicinal Herbs									
4:00-5:00 – <i>O-bon</i> Dance									
							7:00		

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

American Indian Program

	Main Stage	Hounfor	Jamaican Dancing Booth	Solar	Foodways		Center Mall	Woods	Narrative Stage
11:00						11:00			
12:00	<i>Jibaro</i> Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen	<i>Brulé zin</i> Workshop: Building the Hearth & Lighting the Fire	 Rastafarian Drumming	Cuban <i>Tumbandera</i> Drummaking Workshop	Cooking in the Caribbean with Rice & Beans	12:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	 Great Basin Basketry	International Boundaries: Problems Maintaining Cultural Ties
	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo		Rastafarian Drumming Workshop	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria	Haitian Soups		Samoan Cricket Game	Wild Rice Camp	Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo to Reservations
1:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changüí	Workshop: Making a Vodoun Altar		Cuban Santería Ceremony	Maroon Preparation of Pork — "Jerk"	1:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	 Buffalo Culture: Buffalo Headdress Making & Tribal Arts	Great Basin Problems Acquiring Willow for Basketry
	<i>Jibaro</i> Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen		Kumina Drumming Workshop		Puerto Rican Cooking with Tropical Fruits & Rice			Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Traditional Native Subsistence Foods & Their Preparation
2:00	Puerto Rican <i>Bomba & Plena</i> : Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros	Vodoun Ceremony in Honor of Erzulie			Jamaican Cassava Cooking	2:00	Samoan Cricket Game	Wild Rice Camp	Native Architectural Strategies for Survival
	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo		Maroon Drumming & Dance		 Puerto Rican Cooking with Corn & Coconut				
3:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changüí					3:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Access to Recognition: The Case of Lacrosse
		Initiation & Purification Workshop	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changüí						
4:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria				Maroon Roasting of Pork — "Jerk"	4:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	Ojibway Problems of Access to Wild Rice
	Cuban <i>Rumba</i> : Grupo Afro-Cuba		Kumina Bands				 Samoan Cricket Game	Wild Rice Camp	Yaqui Problems Acquiring Ceremonial Needs
5:00						5:00			








On-going craft demonstrations: instrument making, games, ritual crafts
Special Event: Caribbean Dance Party on the Main Stage, 7:30-9:30 p.m., featuring "Masterful" (Haitian *compa direct*) and "Son de la Loma" (New York *son*).


Ongoing demonstrations: Lacrosse instruction, Yaqui ramada construction & tribal arts demonstration, wild rice processing, lacrosse stick making, buffalo hide tanning, Great Basin basket making, buffalo headdress making, bullboat making

Sunday, July 2



Hawai'i

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America

	Music Stage	Hula Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demonstrations	Children's Area		Music Stage	Narrative Stage	
11:00							11:00			
12:00	Korean Dance: Halla Pai Huhm Dancers	 Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	<i>Pa'u</i> Demonstration	Okinawan New Year Cooking Traditions	Surrounding the <i>O'bon</i> Tower: paper doll making, calligraphy, Taoist worship, bullrush sandalmaking, <i>laubala</i> weaving, coconut weaving, herbal medicine, <i>kasuri</i> weaving	Hawaiian Games & Lassoing	12:00	 Call & Response Singing	French Accordion & Fiddle Styles	
	Portuguese Music: Camoës Players	 Kau'i Zuttermeister Family	'Ukulele Styles Workshop	Chinese New Year Cooking Traditions						Storytelling
	Hawaiian Music Ku'ulei's Own	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha						"Show me how to do the <i>Hula</i> "	Songs from Brittany	New England Harmonica
1:00							1:00			
2:00	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Samoan Music & Dance	Hawaiian Renaissance		Maritime area: koa canoe building, throw net fishing	Island Stories & Legends	2:00	Québécois Harmonica	 French Language	
	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	Hula Training	Portuguese Holiday Cooking Traditions	Occupational area: taro farming, lava rock wall building			Breton Bagpipes	French Tales from Missouri	
										Cajun Songs
3:00							3:00			
4:00	Hawaiian Music	Halau 'O Kekuhi	Tourism in Hawai'i		<i>Paniolo</i> tack shed: saddlemaking, rawhide braiding	Korean Dance	4:00	Music & Dance from Normandy	French Bagpipes	
	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Samoan Music & Dance	Hawaiian Stories	Filipino Holiday Cooking Traditions	Near the <i>Hula</i> stage: shell, floral and feather <i>lei</i> making, instrument making, quilting	Chinese & Okinawan Lion Dancers		New England Fiddling	Celebrations	
5:00	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo	Kau'i Zuttermeister Family	Puerto Ricans in Hawai'i	 Hawaiian <i>Lu'au</i> Cooking Traditions	Near the Narrative stage: woodworking, photo exhibit of plantation life		5:00	Music & Dance from Portou	Hurdy-Gurdy Music	
								Zydeco Music The Lawtell Playboys	 M'chif Songs & Music	
	Hawaiian Music	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha	Reading the Sea						New England Fiddle	Houma Crafts
Special Event: <i>Kahua</i> Pig in the <i>Imu</i>							Dance Party			
1:00-1:45 – <i>Paniolo</i> Crafts at the Tack Shed 										
3:00-3:45 – Hawaiian Quilting										
4:00-4:45 – <i>O'bon</i> Dance										
							7:00	Hawaiian Dance: Ku'ulei's Own <i>Halau</i>		

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

American Indian Program






	Center Mall	Woods	Narrative Stage
11:00			
12:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	Yaqui Problems Acquiring Ceremonial Needs
	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Wild Rice Camp	Traditional Native Practices Maintaining Sustained Yields
1:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances		Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts
		Great Basin Basketry	Ojibway Problems of Access to Wild Rice
2:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management		 Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts
3:00	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	 Water Rights: Government Policy & Regulation	
	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances		Great Basin Basketry
4:00			Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts
	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management		Wild Rice Camp

Ongoing demonstrations: Lacrosse instruction, Yaqui ramada construction & tribal arts demonstration, wild rice processing, lacrosse stick making, buffalo hide tanning, Great Basin basket making, buffalo headdress making, bullboat making


Monday, July 3

Hawai'i

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America









	Music Stage	Hula Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demonstrations	Children's Area		Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00							11:00		
12:00	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha	Roots in Asia	Filipino Cascarone	Surrounding the O'bon Tower: paper doll making, calligraphy, Taoist worship, bullrush sandalmaking, lauhala weaving, coconut weaving, herbal medicine, kasuri weaving	Make a Lei & Coconut Toys	12:00	Women Singers	French American Indians
	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	 Hawaiian Stories					Songs from Brittany	
	1:00	Hawaiian Music	Halau 'O Kekuhi			Herbal Healing		Portuguese Malasadas	Maritime area: koa canoe building, throw net fishing
Filipino Music: Family Camarillo		Samoan Music & Dance	Pa'u Demonstration	Chinese Gin Doi	Occupational area: taro farming, lava rock wall building	"Show me how to do the Hula"	Zydeco Music: The Lawtell Playboys		
2:00									
	Korean Dance: Halla Pai Huhm Dancers	Kau'i Zuttermeister Family	Hawaiian Language			Island Stories & Legends	New England Music	Music & Dance from Normandy	
3:00	Portuguese Music: Camoes Players	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	Weaving with Natural Fibers	Hawaiian Kōelepālau	Paniolo tack shed, saddlemaking, rawhide braiding	Hawaiian Games	3:00	Québécois Accordion & Step Dance	 Michif Music & Song
	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Hawaiian Chant	Okinawans in Hawai'i		Near the Hula stage: shell, floral and feather lei making, instrument making, quiltmaking		4:00	Cajun Music: Dewey Balfa & Friends	Preserving Our Identity
4:00	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo	Halau 'O Kekuhi	Music & Tourism	Okinawan Undagi	Near the Narrative stage: woodworking, photo exhibit of plantation life		5:00	New England Fiddle	New England Music
	Hawaiian Music: Ku'ulei's Own	Samoan Music & Dance	 Percussion Workshop					Breton Bagpipes	Step Dancing
1:00-1:45 – Lava Rock Wall Building  3:00-3:45 – Throw Net Fishing in the Maritime Area  4:00-5:00 – O-bon Dance							Dance Party	Veillée: Dance Music from Quebec & New England	
									7:00

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Check the schedule and signs at each stage. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

American Indian Program

	Main Stage	Hounfor	Jamaican Dancing Booth	Solar	Foodways		Center Mall	Woods	Narrative Stage
11:00						11:00			
	<i>Jibaro</i> Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen	 <i>Vèvè</i> Workshop: Making Sacred Vodoun Drawings	Drumming Workshop: Kumina & Maroon	Cuban <i>Tumbandera</i> Drummaking Workshop	Cuban Ritual Cooking		Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Wild Rice Camp	 International Boundaries: Problems Maintaining Cultural Ties
12:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria			 Cuban Palo Monte Ceremony	Jamaican Preparation of Cassava	12:00	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Great Basin Basketry	Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo to Reservations
1:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changüi		<i>Bomba & Jibaro</i> Workshop: Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros & Cuerdas de Borinquen		Puerto Rican Cooking with Tropical Fruits & Cassava	1:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Water Rights: Government Policy & Regulation
2:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo	Vodoun Ceremony in Honor of Ghede				2:00	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Wild Rice Camp	Great Basin Problems Acquiring Willow for Basketry
	Puerto Rican <i>Bomba & Plena</i> : Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros		Kumina Bands	 Puerto Rican Herbs Workshop					 Indian Language: Cultural Continuity & Identity
3:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Cuarteto Patria		Thatching Workshop		Maroon Ginger Beer Making	3:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Great Basin Basketry	Access to Recognition: The Case of Lacrosse
4:00	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Grupo Changüi	 <i>Loa</i> Dance Movement Workshop	Indigenous Instruments Workshop		Jamaican Cassava Cooking	4:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Wild Rice Camp	Yaqui Problems Acquiring Ceremonial Needs
	Cuban <i>Son</i> : Familia Oviedo				 Making Puerto Rican & Haitian Candy		Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Ojibway Problems of Access to Wild Rice
5:00	Cuban <i>Rumba</i> : Grupo Afro-Cuba		Maroon Drumming & Dance			5:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	 Great Basin Basketry	Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo









On-going craft demonstrations: instrument making, games, ritual crafts

Ongoing demonstrations: Lacrosse instruction, Yaqui ramada construction & tribal arts demonstration, wild rice processing, lacrosse stick making, buffalo hide tanning, Great Basin basket making, buffalo headdress making, bullboat making

Tuesday, July 4

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America

Hawai'i


	Music Stage	Hula Stage	Narrative Stage	Foodways	Ongoing Demonstrations	Children's Area		Music Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00	Portuguese Music: Carnoes Players	Kau'i Zuttermeister Family	 <i>Pa'u</i> Demonstration		Surrounding the <i>O'bon</i> Tower: paper doll making, calligraphy, Taoist worship, bullrush sandalmaking, <i>laubala</i> weaving, coconut weaving, herbal medicine, <i>kasuri</i> weaving	Coconut Toymaking & Origami Paper Folding	11:00	Music & Dance from Poitou	Breton Bagpipes
12:00	Filipino Music: Family Camarillo	Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha	 Hawaiian Heritage Award Recipients	Chinese Cooking Traditions			12:00	Québécois Harmonica	Accordion Styles
1:00	Hawaiian Music	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	Tradition & Tourism	Hawaiian Cooking Traditions		Chinese & Okinawan Lion Dancing	1:00	Call & Response Singing	 Holiday Foodways
2:00	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Samoa Music & Dance	<i>Hula</i> Training		Maritime area: koa canoe building, throw net fishing	Performance of Korean Dancing	2:00	Québécois Accordion & Step Dance	 Fiddle Styles
3:00	Puerto Rican Music: El Conjunto Boricua	Ho'opi'i Brothers	Japanese in Hawai'i	Filipino Cooking Traditions	Occupational area: taro farming, lava rock wall building	"Show me how to do the <i>Hula</i> "	3:00	Cajun Music: Dewey Balfa & Friends	Music from Normandy
4:00	Portuguese Music: Carnoes Players	Halau 'O Kekuhi	 Access to Natural Resources	Portuguese Cooking in the <i>Forno</i>	<i>Paniolo</i> tack shed: saddlemaking, rawhide braiding	Hawaiian Stories & Legends	4:00	Music from Normandy	 Songs & Ballads
5:00	Knrean Dance: Halla Pai Huhm Dancers	Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir	Hawaiian <i>Paniolo</i> (Cowboys)		Near the <i>Hula</i> stage: shell, floral and feather <i>lei</i> making, instrument making, quilting		5:00	New England Fiddle	 Instrument Making
	Okinawan Music & Dance: Nakasone Seifu Kai	Samoa Music & Dance	Hardwood in Hawai'i	Okinawan Cooking Traditions	Near the Narrative stage: woodworking, photo exhibit of plantation life			Zydeco Music: The Lawtell Playboys	French American Indians
	Hawaiian Music: Ku'ulei's Own	 Halau 'O Kekuhi	Slack Key Guitar Styles Workshop					The Grand Farewell	Storytelling

1:00-1:45 – Instrument Making

3:00-3:45 – Taoist Worship in the Chinese Crafts Tent








4:00-5:00 – *O-bon* Dance

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The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

American Indian Program

	Main Stage	Hounfor	Jamaican Dancing Booth	Solar	Foodways		Center Mall	Woods	Narrative Stage
11:00						11:00			
	Cuban Son: Cuarteto Patria	Vèrè Workshop: Making Sacred Vodoun Drawings	Cuban Son: Grupo Changüí		 Jamaican Preparation of Cassava		 Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Wild Rice Camp	Access to Recognition: The Case of Lacrosse
12:00	Puerto Rican Bomba & Plena: Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros		 Drumming Workshop: Jamaican & Cuban		Maroon Cooking with Coco Root & Coconut	12:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	Indian Problems Marketing Crafts & Foods
1:00	Jíbaro Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen	Vodoun Ceremony in Honor of Marassa	Thatching & Watling Workshop	Cuban Tumbandera Drummaking Workshop	Puerto Rican Cooking with Coconut	1:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Great Basin Basketry	Indian Language: Cultural Continuity & Identity
2:00	Cuban Rumba: Grupo Afro-Cuba		Maroon Drumming & Dance	Cuban Son: Cuarteto Patria		2:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Wild Rice Camp	Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo to Reservations
3:00	Cuban Son: Familia Oviedo	 Initiation & Purification Workshop	Kumina Bands		Cuban Ritual Cooking	3:00	Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	 Yaqui Problems Acquiring Ceremonial Needs
	Cuban Son: Grupo Changüí		Jíbaro Music: Cuerdas de Borinquen		Staples: Taro Cassava Wild Rice				Traditional Native Practices Maintaining Sustained Yields
4:00	Puerto Rican Bomba & Plena: Marcial Reyes y sus pleneros		Ritual Dance Workshop: Kumina & Haitian		Haitian Soups	4:00	Yaqui Pascola & Deer Dances	Great Basin Basketry	Resource Management: Reintroducing Buffalo
5:00	Cuban Son: Cuarteto Patria			 Cuban Santería Ceremony		5:00	Bison in Plains Culture: Ft. Berthold Herd Management	Wild Rice Camp	Access to Recognition: The Case of Lacrosse
							Iroquois Lacrosse: Onondaga vs Tuscarora	Buffalo Culture: Tribal Arts	 The Decline of Natural Materials

On-going craft demonstrations: instrument making, games, ritual crafts

Ongoing demonstrations: Lacrosse instruction, Yaqui ramada construction & tribal arts demonstration, wild rice processing, lacrosse stick making, buffalo hide tanning, Great Basin basket making, buffalo headdress making, bullboat making

Contributing Sponsors

The *Hawai'i* program has been made possible by the State of Hawai'i, John Waihee, Governor, with support from the Office of the Governor, the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau, and Hawai'i corporate sponsors: Duty Free Shoppers Inc., Alexander & Baldwin Inc., Aloha Airlines Inc., American Telephone & Telegraph Inc., Bank of Hawai'i, First Hawaiian Bank, Frito Lay of Hawai'i Inc., GTE - Hawaiian Tel., Hawaiian Electric Industries Inc., International Savings/National Mortgage & Finance Co., Japan Travel Bureau, Oceanic Properties Inc., Pacific Resources Inc.

Les Fêtes Chez Nous: *France and North America*, a program on the occasion of the Bicentennial of the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, has been made possible by the American Committee on the French Revolution with the generous support of the following corporations and foundations: Archer-Daniels-Midland Foundation, Arthur Andersen & Co., General Electric Foundation, Gulf + Western Foundation, IIT Corporation, KPMG Peat Marwick, Lazard Frères, Warner-Lambert Company and the assistance of the government of the Republic of France and the province of Quebec.

The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World has been made possible, in part, by the Music Performance Trust Funds, and the government of Jamaica, the government of Puerto Rico, American Airlines and Marazul Charters.

The *American Indian* program has been supported by federal appropriations and Smithsonian Institution Trust Funds.

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The Caribbean: Cultural Encounters in the New World

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Les Fêtes Chez Nous: France and North America

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Hawai'i Program

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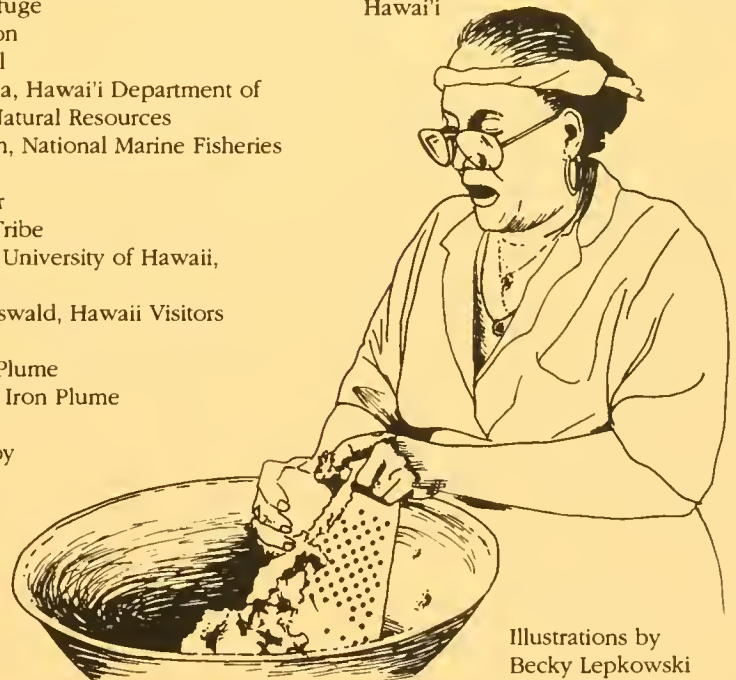
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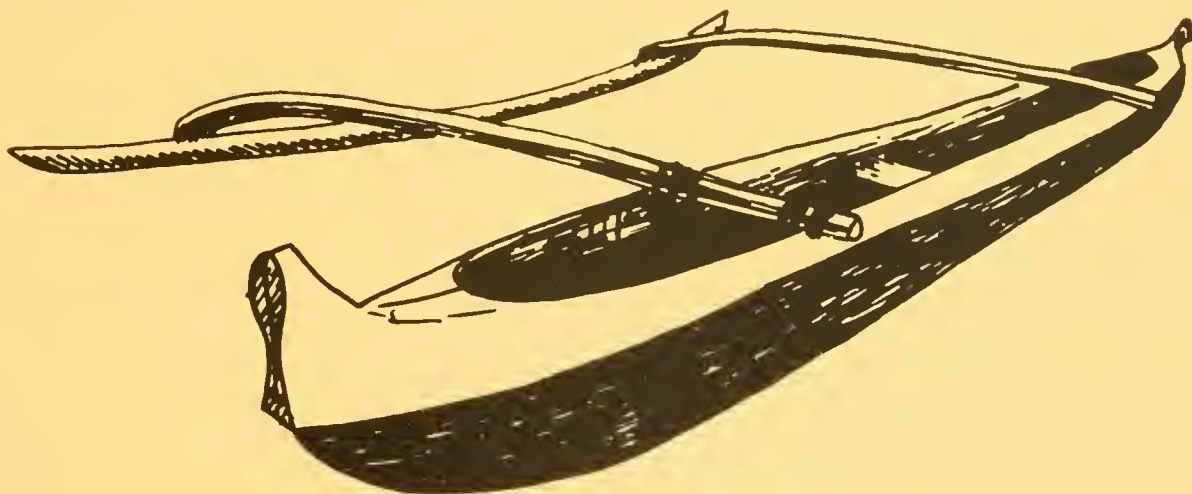
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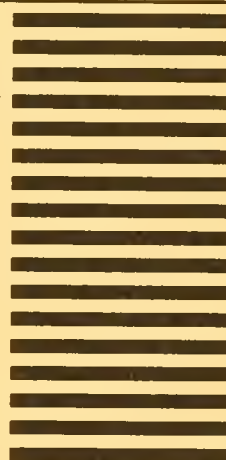
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FOLKWAYS Smithsonian Folkways

The Smithsonian Institution acquired Folkways Records in 1987 in order to ensure its enduring contribution to American culture. Folkways consists of nearly 2,200 albums, including a wide variety of cultures, genres, and styles, issued by Moses Asch over a period of 40 years. The recordings include the folk and traditional musics of communities in almost every country on every continent, extensive coverage of American folk music, children's music, spoken word, historical recordings, as well as animal and object sounds. Building on the strong tradition of multi-cultural recordings in the Folkways collection, the Office of Folklife Programs is also issuing new titles. Several of these are available in the Smithsonian shops at this Festival.

Smithsonian/Folkways albums issued for this Festival:

Puerto Rican Music in Hawai'i: Kachi-Kachi (SF 40014).

Music of the Puerto Rican plantation workers and contemporary dance music, recorded live in Hawai'i. Recorded, edited, notes and photographs by Ted Solis.

Hula Drum Dance Chants: Music and Power in Time (SF 40015). Historic and contemporary recordings of the Hula Pahu tradition, beautifully documented, translated, and digitally remastered. Compiled, edited, notes by Elizabeth Tatar. (This will be available shortly after the Festival).

Musics of Hawai'i (SF 40016). A sampling of recordings by artists performing at the 1989 Festival of American Folklife. This cassette is available at all booths where the Program Book is sold.

The Folkways Vision Package—Three Related Recordings:

Folkways: A Vision Shared. A Tribute to Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly. A benefit album containing songs written by Woody Guthrie and Huddie Ledbetter (Leadbelly) and interpreted by major stars of the 1980s. Issued by CBS Records.

A Vision Shared. 72 minute videotape including most of the artists on the CBS album above. Issued by Columbia Music Videos.

Folkways: The Original Vision (SF 40001). Contains the same songs as the CBS album, but in the original versions recorded in the 1940s by Woody Guthrie and Leadbelly. Additional songs present other sides of their musical genius. Three cuts were never before released and appear for the first time on this album.

1988 Festival of American Folklife:

Musics of the Soviet Union (SF 40002). The 1988 Festival of American Folklife album, featuring outstanding performances of a number of regional traditions in the Soviet Union.

If you are not able to find Folkways records at your local record store, write for free catalogs and information about ordering:

Folkways
Office of Folklife Programs
955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 2600
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560

or telephone
202/287-3262

All the new Smithsonian/Folkways issues, plus many other Folkways titles are available in the Museum Shops sales tent on the Festival site. Many are also distributed through Rounder Records to your local specialty record shops.

To get a list of Folkways records on your favorite topic, fill in the coupon below and either mail it to the address indicated or drop it off at the Folkways section of the sales tent.

Please send me catalog(s) of Folkways Records. I would like information on the following kinds of recordings:

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